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CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
HEYER FOUNDATION
VOL. XXIII

FRANCES DENSMORE
AND
AMERICAN INDIAN MUSIC

A Memorial Volume
Compiled and Edited by Charles Hofmann



NEW YORK
MUSEUM OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN
HEYER FOUNDATION
1963



DR. FRANCES DENSMORE, 1867-1957.

Photograph taken October 3, 1949. (*Courtesy of Bureau of American Ethnology archives*).

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Library of Congress Catalog Card
Number 67-30974

Price \$ 5.00

Printed in Germany by J. J. Augustin, Glückstadt

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Honoring Song for Frances Densmore, given the name of *Ptesan'non'pawin*
(Two White Buffalo Woman) as the adopted daughter of Red Fox, chief
of the Teton Sioux, 1911.

FOREWORD

Frances Densmore's reputation as an authority on the study of American Indian music is well known to those who have followed her career through its more than six decades of intensive research, collection, and analyses. Her unique accomplishments were many, much of which will be enumerated in detail in this volume. One must go to her more than twenty publications and miscellaneous reports issued by the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, and to her many other published works, to understand the scope of her more than half century of work.

Her tireless, scholarly efforts met with a success seldom gained by those who devote their lives to specialized subjects. In Dr. Densmore's case, more than casual credit should be given to one who chose an uncommon career and whose meritorious accomplishments give her the rank as one of the foremost experts on the music of the American Indian.

Before Frances Densmore began her study in 1893, pioneers laid a foundation for scholars who, in the twentieth century, would bring so much of the Indian's musical culture to light and preserve it for the future as a vital part of America's heritage. The story of some of these pioneers will also be related in this volume.

During her years of field work among Indian tribes from British Columbia to Florida, Dr. Densmore was so prolific in her reports, analyses, and documentation that much of her writing will be used to tell her story. Frances Densmore will speak for herself through reports, letters, diaries, and notes, as well as several, important, unpublished papers.

From 1893 until her death in 1957, Dr. Densmore kept a detailed daily diary. From 1940 until the last years of her life, she corresponded with the writer, serving as mentor and guide for my own study of American Indian music. Over one thousand letters resulted during those years, many of which will appear for the first time in this volume.* Pages from her diaries will also be quoted.

Frances Densmore realized at the beginning of her career that the pursuit of the subject entailed a lifetime of study because of its many ramifications and the complexity of the primitive art. She began her study at twenty-six and continued until her death at ninety. She had a wise and sincere outlook on life and on her work; being so dedicated, her philosophy was always "nothing downs me." She recorded songs in remote and unknown places throughout North America, rescuing songs from oblivion and recording as much authentic material as quickly as possible before the oldest singers died and their knowledge was lost forever. In an early letter to me, she insisted that "there is more to the preservation of Indian songs than winding the phonograph." When one realizes the problems, the tremendous

* Unless indicated otherwise, all letters and memoranda appearing in this volume were addressed to Charles Hofmann.

difficulties, the obstacles that confronted this pioneer woman, who much of the time worked alone in the field, one is conscious of the extraordinary achievement of Frances Densmore.

This volume is intended as a tribute to her work, her contribution to ethnomusicology, and as a guide for those who wish to follow her ideas and be inspired by her accomplishments. It is part of an observance of her 100th birthday anniversary, a memorial volume bringing to readers the story of one who "preserved the past, recorded observations in the present and opened the way for the work of others in the future."

My sincere gratitude goes to those many persons who helped make this volume possible. Dr. Frederick J. Dockstader and the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, sponsored this tribute and made possible its publication. I also wish to acknowledge the helpful cooperation and contributions of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, and its archivist, Mrs. Margaret C. Blaker, as well as the Archive of Folklore, Music Division, of the Library of Congress, and its head, Mrs. Rae Korson, and the staff of the library of the American Museum of Natural History in New York City. Dr. Willard Rhodes of Columbia University allowed the use of several letters included in this volume.

My thanks also go to Dr. Matthew W. Stirling for his personal memoir and comments related to the many years of association with Frances Densmore at the Bureau of American Ethnology.

CHARLES HOFMANN

New York City
May, 1967

INTRODUCTION

From 1928 until her death in 1957, I was closely associated with Frances Densmore. As Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, I theoretically supervised her work, which consisted merely in supplying a few suggestions and the Government funds that financed her trips. She alone selected her projects and the localities where she conducted her work. She was proud of her title of "Collaborator" and on one occasion when the title was inadvertently omitted from an official report, she sent me a wire inquiring if it had been revoked.

A regular fund of three thousand dollars per annum was set aside by the Bureau for the study of Indian music. Inasmuch as government appropriations were made for only one year at a time, she felt insecure and asked me to notify her each year when the appropriation had been renewed, doubtlessly because the fund made her field work possible. Each year she visited Washington to consult with me and to be reassured that her work would continue.

She was well aware of music's great importance in Indian ceremonies; in fact, it was usually an absolutely essential factor. She once remarked to me that without music the Indians would have no religion. Thus she always attempted to fit her music studies into the general matrix of tribal ethnology. In the foreword to her study of Chippewa music, she says: "The study of Indian music is more than a collection of Indian songs. It includes a consideration of the vocal expression of a mental concept; therefore incorrect repetitions of a song are as significant as correct repetitions. Into their value enters a human element—the personality of the singer." Because of this realization, her reports are really ethnological studies that emphasize music.

She told me that Dr. Walter Hough had advised her early in her career, not to read scientific reports in advance concerning the people she was to visit, for these might inadvertently influence her interpretations. She took his advice seriously, and one may be sure that her ethnological interpretations are her own.

She always collected for museums the implements used in relation to the music—the instruments played and any herbs or other materials connected with the songs. Everything she did was systematically planned in advance and she followed these plans meticulously. On her annual visits to the Bureau, she arranged to see each member of the staff in turn so that she could pick their brains on whatever topic concerned her at the time. Frances La Flesche and J. N. B. Hewitt were her favorites; being Indians, she felt that they always had something to contribute. (It is interesting that these two Indians were protégés of two of our first women ethnologists; Hewitt, the Iroquois, was launched on his career by Erminnie Smith and La Flesche,

the Omaha, by Alice Fletcher.) Because her visits usually lasted only two days, Dr. Densmore carefully planned every hour.

When the Bureau was unable to obtain funds for the proper storage and care of her great collection of wax cylinders, or for the equipment to copy them in permanent form, I persuaded her to let us transfer them to the Library of Congress. She was reluctant to do so, for she had a sentimental attachment to the Bureau, but seeing the need, she readily agreed.

Frances Densmore was completely dedicated to her work and so serious minded that she apparently had little sense of humor. I soon learned that any attempt at a joke was apt to be taken literally. She was always kindly, courteous, and appreciative of any help.

Undoubtedly the greatest pioneer in one of the most neglected fields of Indian ethnology, Dr. Densmore realized that she was working in a period when real native culture was rapidly disintegrating. American anthropologists and musicologists will always be in her debt for the rescue work she accomplished during this critical time.

DR. MATTHEW W. STIRLING, *Former Chief*
Bureau of American Ethnology
Smithsonian Institution

PREFACE

In any examination of Indian arts, primary attention is invariably given to the magnificent visual creations of the native artist, publications of which are often accompanied by colorful illustrations. It is regrettable that the exciting fields of literature, dance, drama and music rarely share in this attention, even though they often include many of the most impressive expressions of Indian esthetics. When the opportunity presented itself to add to the available literature on American Indian music, the Museum was immediately interested, in view of our long-standing concern for every aspect of Indian culture.

From the time Dr. Hofmann first discussed this project with us, submitting a manuscript which was essentially in completed form, we agreed to undertake the responsibility of its publication, for no one was more suited to prepare a volume drawing attention to the career of this distinguished scholar. Dr. Hofmann had enjoyed a long acquaintance with Dr. Densmore, and as a colleague, had worked with her; he was the recipient of much of her personal material at the time of her death. A further interest was the association which we had enjoyed with Dr. Densmore during the time she had gathered collections in our behalf.

As one of the pioneers in the field of Indian music study, Frances Densmore was almost unique in the quality and impressive productivity of her work, and it is unlikely that original research of this nature will ever again be possible. Due to the importance of her career, and the impact of her work on later scholars, it seemed fitting to mark the centennial of her birth by gathering together her more important shorter contributions to ethnomusicology, as well as reprinting several of her other writings which had appeared in publications now difficult or impossible to obtain.

We are indeed pleased to acknowledge the courtesy of Mrs. Margaret Blaker, archivist of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and to the Smithsonian Institution, for permission to reproduce the photographs included in this volume, as well as the excerpts from writings by Dr. Densmore which were earlier published by that institution. Equal thanks go also to an old friend, Dr. Matthew W. Stirling, for sharing his reminiscences of Dr. Densmore's work during the time he was Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

It is hoped that this volume will not only prove a sincere tribute to the work of an outstanding scholar in a field gaining increasing interest in academic study, but will also provide an encouragement to all who work in the field of aboriginal music.

September, 1968

FREDERICK J. DOCKSTADER
Director



CHRONOLOGY

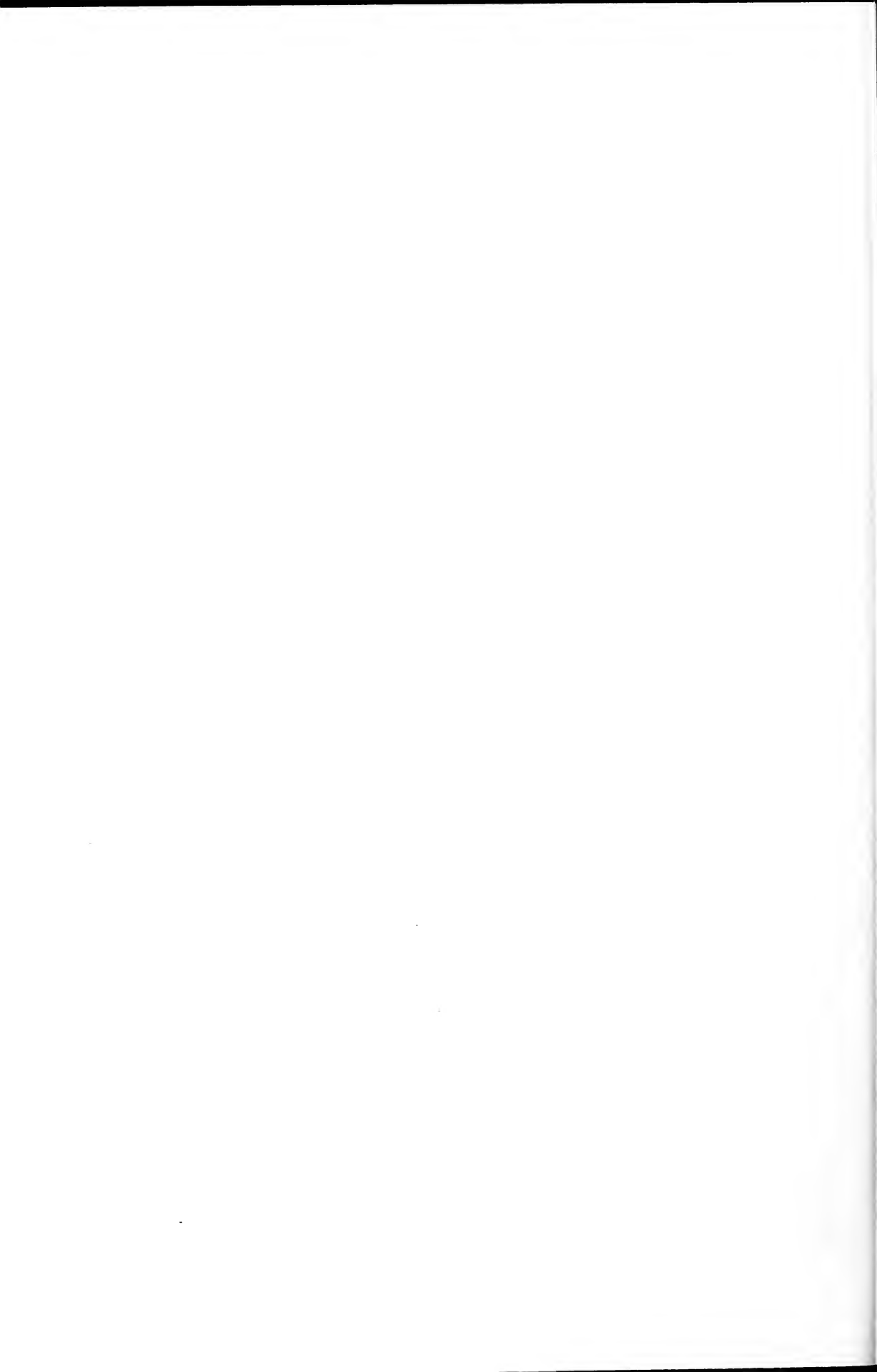
- 1867 Born, May 21, Red Wing, Minnesota, daughter of Benjamin and Sarah Adalaide (Greenland) Densmore; granddaughter of Judge Orrin Densmore.
- 1884-
- 1886 Studied piano, organ, and harmony at Oberlin Conservatory of Music.
- 1889-
- 1890 Studied piano with Carl Baermann in Boston, and counterpoint with John K. Paine at Harvard.
- 1893 Began study of American Indian music after reading Alice C. Fletcher's reports, encouraged by John Comfort Fillmore; lectured on Wagnerian operas after hearing Dr. Leopold Damrosch.
- 1895 Gave first lectures on Indian music, using Miss Fletcher's material.
- 1898 Studied piano with Leopold Godowsky.
- 1901 Wrote down first songs from Sioux woman near Red Wing.
- 1904 Studied Filipino music at St. Louis Exposition, and wrote down song by Geronimo.
- 1905 Visited White Earth Reservation in Minnesota observing Chippewa, and made first field trip at Grand Portage on north shore of Lake Superior; made other trips to Indians in Minnesota at her own expense.
- 1907 Visited White Earth again and heard songs of the Midéwiwin (Grand Medicine Society) at Leech Lake Reservation; given \$150 by Dr. W. H. Holmes, chief of Bureau of American Ethnology, for recording Indian songs. Later in October, Dr. Holmes sent an additional \$200 with the telegram, "proceed at your discretion." Began work at Chippewa agency at Onigum with Edison Home Phonograph—"the best recording equipment available at that time." Returned to White Earth and collected valuable material from Maingans (Little Wolf), a member of the Midéwiwin. Gave lecture in Washington, D.C. for Anthropological Society.
- 1908 Bought Columbia Graphophone, and used it continually until 1940, when recording at Zuñi.
- 1910 Continued Chippewa collection at Lac du Flambeau Reservation, Wisconsin.
- 1911 Collected Sioux music on Sisseton Reservation, South Dakota.
- 1912 Began Mandan and Hidatsa collection at Fort Berthold, North Dakota, in cooperation with Historical Society of North Dakota.
- 1913-
- 1914 Made two trips to Standing Rock Reservation, South Dakota, to collect Sioux songs; began to study Northern Ute.
- 1915 Continued collection of Mandan and Hidatsa material.
- 1916 Made second trip for Ute material.

- 1917 Studied Chippewa material culture at White Earth Reservation.
1918 Studied Pawnee in Oklahoma.
1919 Resumed work on Pawnee songs; visited Manitou Rapids Reserve in Canada for comparative material on Chippewa.
1920 Studied music of the Papago at San Xavier Mission near Tucson, Arizona; visited "Mohave" Apaches at Camp MacDowell near Phoenix, Arizona.
1923 Made first trip to Neah Bay, Washington, for study of Makah; visited British Columbia, Cape Flattery, and Vancouver Island.
1924 Studied and recorded Tule Indians of Panama then visiting in Washington, D. C.; received A. M. (Honorary), Oberlin.
1925 College. Began study of Menominee in Wisconsin.
1926 Returned to Neah Bay, Washington, for study of Makah; returned to Chilliwack, British Columbia, and Indians on southwest coast of Vancouver Island.
1927 Visited Winnebago in Wisconsin near Black River Falls.
1928 Made trip to Winnebago and Menominee in Wisconsin for continuation of study; recorded Acoma songs in Washington, D. C., from visiting Indians from that Pueblo.
1930 Studied native customs of Chippewa at Grand Portage on Lake Superior; recorded variety of songs from many tribes at Wisconsin Dells; recorded Pueblo Indians from Isleta and Cochiti at Kilbourn, Wisconsin.
1931 Visited Seminole in Florida, recording near Miami; began study of Peyote Cult among Winnebago and recorded again in Wisconsin Dells; returned to Miami and continued Seminole study at Dania, Musa Isle, and at camps along Tamiami Trail, including Fort Myers area; recorded at Brighton and returned to Miami.
1932 Made extensive trip of Gulf States, including visits to Alibamu in Polk County, Texas, and to Chitimacha at Charenton, Louisiana; visited Choctaw near Philadelphia, Mississippi; revisited Seminole in Florida.
1933 Recorded at Chicago Century of Progress Exposition, including Navajo and Sioux songs with groups on electrical disk apparatus.
1935 Made field trips to Cheyenne and Arapaho, working near El Reno, Oklahoma, for the Southwest Museum of Los Angeles.
1936 Became Supervisor of Indian handcraft in Minneapolis for WPA; worked at Cass Lake; returned to work for Southwest Museum to record songs of Santo Domingo Pueblo.
1937 Collected additional Pueblo music and worked on Maidu songs in Los Angeles for Southwest Museum.
1938 Prepared handbooks for WPA Writers' Project in Minnesota.
1940 Recorded Zuñi songs at Wisconsin Dells; made additional study of Peyote Cult; recordings of Densmore collection transferred to National Archives in Washington, D.C., from Bureau of American Ethnology; award of merit given by National Association for American Composers and Conductors; appointed consultant at National Archives for work with Smithsonian-Densmore collection.

- 1941 Visited Nebraska to make a comparative study of Omaha music related to Alice Fletcher's field work prior to 1890.
- 1942 Wrote handbook on the collection for the National Archives.
- 1943 Completed fifty years of study in American Indian music.
- 1944 Worked on material of Omaha music in comparison with Alice Fletcher's previous material; compiled and presented private papers, scrapbooks, and other materials to the Bureau of American Ethnology.
- 1945 Studied the Indians of Michigan for the University of Michigan—one of her few non-musical surveys.
- 1946—
- 1947 Completed for publication her survey of Michigan Indians, and other unfinished manuscripts based on studies.
- 1948 Began work for Library of Congress to edit a series of albums based on her collection; Smithsonian-Densmore Collection transferred to Library.
Published monograph for Museum of the American Indian, *A Collection of Specimens from the Teton Sioux*, based upon objects collected for Dr. G. G. Heye.
- 1950 *Songs of the Chippewa* appeared as a long-playing record in Library of Congress series (L22), the first of series of ten albums planned from collection; received Litt. D. (Honorary), Macalester College, St. Paul.
- 1951—
- 1952 Seven albums appear in series from Library.
- 1954 Researched and investigated Seminole Indians in Florida; visited reservations in Everglades and conducted seminar at University of Florida. Presented Minnesota Historical Society citation award for distinguished service.
- 1955—
- 1956 Wrote many short papers on various Indian musical subjects.
- 1957 Observed 90th birthday at Red Wing on May 21; died at Red Wing, June 5.

Miss Densmore was affiliated with the following:

- International Congress of Americanists (Member of 19th, 20th, and 25th)
- National Committee of National Folk Festival (Member beginning 1933)
- Fellow Woman Geographers (Executive Council, 1933-1942)
- Minnesota Historical Society (Life Member)
- Minnesota Archeological Society (Honorary Member)
- Sigma Alpha Iota (Honorary Member, Phi Chapter)
- Thursday Musical of Minneapolis (Honorary Member)
- National Committee on Folk Arts of U.S. (Consultant)
- Folk Arts Association (Honorary Member)



EARLY LIFE

SHE HEARD AN INDIAN DRUM

Throughout her life Frances Densmore continually wrote autobiographical pages, reminiscences of her past experiences, personal stories, and reports of field problems. The following is one of many such examples to be presented in this book. Therefore, Dr. Densmore will tell most of her own story herself.

"How did you happen to take up the study of Indian music?"

This question has been asked me many times, usually followed by the inquiry, "Were you a missionary or a teacher in an Indian school?" My reply was, "I heard an Indian drum when I was very, very young." Others heard the same drum and the sound was soon forgotten, but I have followed it all these years. Unconsciously it has called me, and I have followed it across the continent from British Columbia to the Everglades of Florida, over the plains and the mountains, across the desert—always the Indian drum calling me. I have heard it in strange places, in the dawn and at midnight, with its mysterious throb.

But to return to my first impression of the Indian drum. We lived in Red Wing, Minnesota, and our home commanded a view of the Mississippi River. Opposite the town, on an island, was a camp of Sioux Indians and at night, when they were dancing, we could hear the sound of the drum and see the flicker of their camp-fire. In the twilight I listened to these sounds, when I ought to have been going to sleep. Instead of frightening me with stories of war dances and scalps, my wise mother said, "Those Indians are interesting people with customs that are different from ours, but they will not hurt you. There is no reason to be afraid of them." So I fell asleep with my mind full of fancies about the "interesting people" across the Mississippi.

This is not to be an autobiography, yet it should be placed on record that my musical education began early and was Spartan in its severity. I was taught harmony on the keyboard while I still lisped, and took "time out" if I played anything as frivolous as Pleyel's German Hymn with variations during a practice period.

At the Oberlin Conservatory of Music I met "interesting people" from many lands and learned to feel at home with Chinese, Japanese, Negroes and girls from Micronesia. This atmosphere was cosmopolitan and a preparation for thirty tribes of Indians.

Carl Baermann had just arrived from Germany and I studied with him in Boston. He drilled me in Bach and Beethoven, while private lessons in counterpoint with Dr. John K. Paine of Harvard, and the wonderful concerts of the Boston Symphony Orchestra broadened and deepened my

musical education. Later I studied Chopin and Brahms with Leopold Godowsky, played an organ, drilled a boys' choir, taught piano, and (after hearing Leopold Damrosch) lectured on the Wagnerian operas, but underneath it all was the call of an Indian drum, low and clear.

At the World's Fair in Chicago, in 1893, I heard Indians sing, saw them dance and heard them yell, and was scared almost to death. However, I read what Miss Alice Cunningham Fletcher was writing at that time about Omaha music, and became acquainted with John Comfort Fillmore who transcribed her phonograph records. For the next ten years I soaked my receptive mind in what army officers wrote about Indians, and what historians wrote about Indians, with some of the publications of the Bureau of American Ethnology, with which I was later to be connected. All this was preparation for my life work.

THE MUSIC OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS

Miss Densmore's first lectures on Indian music were given in 1895. The following (typed copy made in 1944 and sent to me) is not dated but is believed to have been first used at the Art Institute of Chicago, February 21, 1899. No other manuscripts of lectures at this period were preserved. In the first lectures, the songs used as illustrations were played or sung from Alice C. Fletcher's book, *A Study of Omaha Music*. Later, the songs found most desirable for such use were copied in a folio. On other occasions, portions of the songs were played on the piano or were sung by a local singer. The Omaha words were used and if native words were lacking, the song was sung with a vocalization producing the desired tones without using syllables. This lecture, or an adaptation, was given many times and for several years until Miss Densmore began adapting and including material of her own collection.

In Egypt, the land of oriental mystery, stands the Sphinx: silent, looking across the waste of desert sand as though waiting for someone to answer its riddle—the Sphinx of Egypt. On our own prairie, a dark face—impassive as though carved from rock, instead of the lion's body a sinewy human form—the Sphinx of America. The problem of what to do with the Indian was one of the gravest that faced the early settlers in America. That problem remains unsolved today.

The French treated the Indian with a courtesy as dignified as his own. The Indians were made welcome at the French forts and entertained with elaborate politeness and in return they extended the hospitality of the wigwam.

The English pursued a different course. They were Puritans, struggling with the rocks of New England and the rigors of its climate. They regarded the Indian as an obstacle in the way of their progress and made no effort to conciliate him. They tried to conquer and crush him, and they might as well have tried to beat back the west wind.

The Jesuits presented another solution. They would convert the whole Indian race to the Roman Catholic religion. Taking their lives in their

hands they went into the heart of the undiscovered country, going far in advance of the most daring hunter and trapper. There they planted their missions and were content to die if they could but sign the cross or hang a crucifix around the neck of a warrior. But the Jesuits could not convert the Indians. Nature called her children and they left the crucifix as the plaything of an hour to worship with heathen ritual at her forest shrines.

Our own nation has made many treaties—uncertainly kept. We have placed the Indians on reservations and their children in schools but the race is dying today with a stoicism that is pathetic. Pushed along by civilization, elbowed and jostled, he who stalked the prairie and knew the land from one horizon to another belonged to him and to his people, finds his little farm and tiny cornfield taken away from him again and again. He holds his head high and walks with the old dignity, but the barbed arrow is in his heart. The white man has no time to sit by the fire, smoke the long pipe and exchange grave compliments with his dark brother. They tell him that the White Father in Washington is caring for his Indian children and he sends messages to him but they are lost on the way. He is cheated, robbed, brow-beaten and down-trodden but he is still an *Indian*.

The songs which I bring you today are a history of the life and customs of this strange people, the story of their warring and worshipping, their love and their revenge. The hunter knew the songs that have power over animals and he sang them after setting his traps. The children in the village sang the songs that bring success in tossing a pebble from one hand to the other, or joined in the song of the game "Follow my leader." The thunder dreamers, their faces painted with spots of blue—the thunder color—invoked the mysterious spirit of the storm. They had power to bring rain, or they could summon lightning to destroy an enemy; their song the bow, the fiery shaft their deadly arrow. Often when a man was sick, they sang their songs, shook their rattles and performed "great medicine," and the man recovered. In the early morning, when the rosy light of the dawn rested on the teepees, the lover sang his serenade. Around the evening fire the children gathered to hear nursery songs—the quaint little myth of "How the rabbit lost his tail," or other stories of the animals. The heart of the Indian has its altar "To the unknown God." He prays to Wakanda—Mystery—in the prayer which the mother teaches her child and in the great chorales sung in unison by two or three hundred men and women. There are songs of revenge. The bloody scalps are brought into the camp with shouts of rejoicing and amid the poundings of the drum the scalp dance begins. From distant Vancouver we have the man-eating song of a cannibal tribe. The Indian has an appropriate song for whatever he does, yet the music is very characteristic of the man. You can gain no more idea of the meaning of his song by listening to it than you can guess his thoughts from the expression on his face. Both are entirely noncommittal. The scalp-dance and the prayer would sound very much alike to our ears.

Only one person has penetrated the mystery of Indian music—that woman is Miss Alice Cunningham Fletcher, and the key to the mystery was *love*. Miss Fletcher is assistant in American ethnology at the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. In 1880 she was sent by the Museum

to study the religion and home life of the Omaha Indians. She determined to live among them as an Indian and make them feel that she was their friend. General C. [not identified] gave her an escort and she started for the reservation. He warned her that when she saw the surroundings she would not want to stay, but the wagon, drawn by two army mules, returned without Miss Fletcher. So she took up her strange, new life. She was received into the lodge of the Chief and treated as an honored guest.

Time passed and as Miss Fletcher saw the pleasure that the Indians took in their musical performances she decided there must be something in them which she did not understand. It could hardly be supposed that rational human beings would jump and scream for hours, as these Indians did, unless the sounds meant something to them. She could detect a melody, and by an effort she was able to shut out the drum and listen to this melody. It was short, repeated an indefinite number of times and always sung exactly the same. She learned these melodies, and when she was able to join in the singing, she was firmly established in the musical affections of the Omaha. They sang for her the songs that no white person had ever heard; they admitted her to tribal ceremonies that no white person had ever witnessed and she noted down the music exactly as it was sung. She gives us the music from the standpoint of the Indians and shows what their music and ceremonies are *to them*.

In playing the songs for the Indians she noticed they were not entirely satisfied. As an experiment she added chords—and the Indians were delighted. They knew absolutely nothing about harmony, they had never made an attempt to produce it, but when they heard it they recognized it at once. Certain chords pleased them, others did not, and the chords which satisfied them were usually chords we would call musically correct. Thus we reach the heart of their songs, we hear at last their sweetest music, forever left unsung. But whence came this unconscious knowledge?

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting,
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting and cometh from afar.
Not in entire forgetfulness and not in utter nakedness
But trailing clouds of glory do we come
From God who is our home.

The scientific work on the songs was done by the late Professor John Comfort Fillmore who established the fact that primitive man has an innate sense of harmony. This sense of harmony is the same in the trained musician and untrained primitive man, the difference being purely one of development. The Navajo Indian howls his song to the war god on the chord of C major, and Beethoven makes the first theme of his *Eroica* Symphony of precisely the same material.

According to the historian Naumann, the first musical effort of primitive man is an imitation of the sounds of nature. There are semi-barbaric tribes in [?] Africa who are still singing these melodies which echo the bird notes of the forest—sometimes cheerful, sometimes plaintive.

The Jews have a legend that at the moment of a child's birth an angel lays its fingers on the baby lips, leaving a dent below the nostrils and sealing its lips to all it has known before. Yet there lingers a memory. Man hears the songs of nature and he cries to the wind and the birds, "Teach me your songs, if perchance I may find in them my own." So he sings on, and his song assumes new forms. Unconsciously it follows the intervals of a major chord. Physiologists call this following the line of least resistance—but is it not of interest that this first chord, the chord of instinct, is usually a major chord and that the minor is added afterwards?

No. 1. *Song of the Nass River Indians, British Columbia*¹

In this a minor seventh is added to a minor triad, an interval which Mr. H. E. Krehbiel often found in Negro songs.

A song of the Tigua Indians shows a step in advance for it contains *two* chords—that of C and A. It is the Dance of the Wheel.

No. 2. *Tigua Dance of the Wheel*

Two chords—yet Wagner makes Lohengrin sing his farewell to the swan to the same harmony. These two chords contain the 1st, 3rd, 5th and 6th tones of the major scale. The Second was soon added and we have the five-toned or pentatonic scale, characteristic of the music of Scotland and Ireland. Here is a song that might easily be mistaken for a Scotch air. [Here followed an unidentified song.]

It must not be supposed that Indians sing these intervals with absolute precision for they do not. If a trained musician sometimes sings, as we say, a little "off the key" is it strange that the Indian who has no idea of true pitch and who begins his song on any tone that comes into his mind—is it strange that he should not always sing exactly "in tune?"

We have a song of the Pawnee containing the eight tones of a major scale, harmonized by the three chords in the key of F.

No. 3. *Pawnee Song of Wa-wan Ceremony*

As the Indian attempts to express more complicated emotions he weaves a different melody, accidentals creep into his song and he gropes blindly, even as in worship he feels after something he cannot find. There is a beautiful choral in the *Wa-wan* ceremony, sung by all the men and women together, the different voices generally presenting three octaves. Even this slight harmonic effect pleases the Indians.

No. 4. *Choral, Wa-wan Ceremony*

Equally noble in harmonies but simpler in construction is the Tribal Prayer—the *Our Father* of the Omaha.

No. 5. *Tribal Prayer*

This prayer forms part of the private devotion of the Omaha and is used in all the great experiences of life. The boy learns it when he is old enough to go forth and watch for the vision which determines his after-life. In some

¹ See the Table of Songs that follows Miss Densmore's lecture.

lonely spot far from the camp he begins his vigil, putting moistened earth on his head, wrapping his robe about him and chanting this prayer continuously. The supernatural is very real to the Indian; it is not easy for a boy to face it alone. All night he hears strange sounds come and go through the darkness. He fears the ghosts that whistle and cry, but he knows they are poor, uneasy souls who during their earthly life failed to practice carefully the rites of their religious society. Two days pass, 3, 4 or even 5, and from fatigue and hunger he may be obliged to give up for that time. He may try again and succeed but there are Indians as well as white men who go through life and *miss* their vision.

Perhaps his vigil is successful, a wolf, the patron of the warrior appears to him. He returns to camp with his little soul full of anticipation of future battles but custom forbids him to tell anyone what he has seen until four days have passed. Later he will be duly admitted to a society of warriors. An Indian tribe contains many societies, some are social, some religious, and others are composed of men who have seen a similar vision.

This is an age of child study and mothers' clubs. Sometimes I wonder if we have found a safer way than that of the Indian mother who sends her boy out to stay alone with Wakanda [God] until Wakanda speaks to him. Perhaps the thunder symbols appear to the boy—he will become a medicine man. Each society has its own songs and those of the Thunder Society are full of mystery. Imagine nine old men, thunder dreamers, walking slowly around the camp circle. In the dead of night a song with bells—"The Thunder Gods are terrible to behold, men fear them but now they are encompassing the village."

No. 6. *Song of the Thunder Dreamers*

More interesting is a song of the Horse Society.

No. 7. *Horse Mystery Song*

If the youth saw a vision of buffalo he would become a surgeon or specialist. He would treat wounds and spray medicine from his lips. One such song contains the words, "Thus am I bidden to send it." These mystery songs were usually sung as solos.

No. 8. *Buffalo Mystery Song*

Comparatively few of the Indian songs are supplied with words. They say of us that we "talk a great deal when we sing." When words are used they are frequently taken apart or changed so as to be more melodious, the rest of the song consisting of meaningless syllables—like vowel sounds. These syllables are never changed after being composed.

Neither the words nor the syllables are pronounced distinctly, for words clearly enunciated break the melody to the Indian and mar the music. Although governed by no rules of composition, their music is less spontaneous than that of the Negroes. Each of the Indian songs is carefully composed, never improvised—there are music teachers who often have at their command several hundred tribal songs. Before an important ceremony the music is carefully rehearsed and it is considered a point of honor to have the singing

pass off well. There [are] songs which are the exclusive property of a certain gens, or clan; other songs can be bought or sold.

A generation ago an Indian child was born into a little world of fixed rules which governed his name and all that concerned him from the cradle to the grave. The Indian never carried any line of reasoning very far and he accepted all this formalism without question. His worship was an elaborate ritual, he placed more dependence upon following these forms with exactness than he did upon any personal morality. So he sang the notes of his song with absolute exactness but no attempt at expression. The Indian never makes a crescendo or diminuendo in his singing except occasionally in the love songs. As to the notes of a song, he would no more change a note than, in decorating a sacred pipe, he would put eight woodpecker heads on the stem when the correct number has always been seven.

If a man has done any particularly valiant deed, he asks permission of his society to have a song composed in his honor. If the deed warrants a song, a skilled musician is instructed to compose it. It is taken for granted that if anything is important enough to be celebrated in song, everyone must know about it, so the words of the song are only intended to suggest—not to describe the event. For instance, the Indians might wish to celebrate a victory like the Battle of Manila—he might do so in a song like this: "As the sun rose he destroyed the ships." Everyone would know what was referred to. Or he might say, "Dewey as the hawk surprised the enemy." That would be enough, and as one sees the trash that is written to celebrate our national events and the flabby attempts at appropriate verse, one almost longs for Indian brevity. Songs like these were sung at meetings of the Haethuska Society. This society was composed entirely of warriors. Chiefs had no precedence and each man stood upon the merit of his achievement. The meetings were held once a month. Evening found the members in the lodge. Their first act was to prepare charcoal to blacken their faces in honor of Thunder, the god of war. A quantity of box elder wood was placed on the fire to char, for this purpose.

No. 9. *Song While Box Elder Wood is Charred*

After painting the face, a pipe is filled and presented to the zenith and the four points of the compass while all joined in this prayer with the words, "Wakanda, we offer tobacco in this pipe, will you accept it and smoke it?"

No. 10. *Prayer*

This completed the opening ceremony. The evening was spent in social converse and supper was prepared in the presence of the assembly. When it was ready, the waiters performed a dance and summoned the guests to partake, with a song having the words "Friend, the food is cooked."

No. 11. *Call to Ceremonial Repast*

After supper, the members were seated about the lodge and songs were sung containing the names and deeds of distinguished warriors. One such song calls upon a warrior in these words, "See them, they are coming; warriors of the Haethuska, behold them; Munchutunga, behold them."

No. 12. *Song in Honor of Munchutunga*

A favorite song was that in memory of Ishebuzzhe, who lived several generations ago. This song shows Ishebuzzhe seated in his tent when the enemy approached the village. Miss Fletcher states that the people told of this man's humorous ways and great valor when aroused. This song is one of the oldest known. An old man who died in 1884 said that his grandfather's grandfather was Ishebuzzhe. This throws the song back 150 years, to the time of Bach and Handel.

No. 13. *Dance Song of Haethuska Society*

A lament for the slain members of the Haethuska society was sung "with feeling."

No. 14. *Lament*

Near the entrance of the old village or tribal circle stood the tents of the Hunga gens. A short distance in front of these were the two sacred tents which were their special care. One of them had red spots painted on it and contained the sacred pole, the other was painted with stalks of corn and contained the hide of a white buffalo. Once a year, when the corn was up and had been hoed twice, the entire tribe went on a buffalo hunt to secure the supply of meat for the winter. When the meat had been secured and duly prepared, the festival of thanksgiving took place, the sacred pole and the buffalo hide were taken from their tents and became the central objects in the ceremony. A certain family of the Hunga gens had charge of the songs of the sacred pole and the men of this family were the only ones who had the right to sing them. For any one else to attempt to do so would be as great an offense as for a spectator in a court room to insist on giving the charge to the jury. The first song is a summons to the people to assemble.

No. 15. *Sacred Pole, Call to Assembly*

The next was sung during the painting of the pole. The words are translated, "I make the pole red and comely to look upon." One wonders at finding red the color of rejoicing even among the aborigines.

No. 16. *Song During Painting of Sacred Pole*

Following this were various dances, the scene was full of action and gay color and everyone took part in the festival. The Indians among themselves, when not at war, are a jolly, rollicking people full of rough fun and practical jokes—the people of the village are vivacious, chatty and inveterate gossips. That impenetrable gloom and dignity in which the Indian wraps himself as in a blanket are simply assumed for ceremonial occasions or as a mask when meeting strangers. His training is to conceal his feelings and he does so with such success that we often think he has none at all.

The scalp dance is one of the most characteristic of the Indian dances. Each scalp is fastened inside a small hoop, this in turn being fastened to a willow pole, these poles are stuck in the ground in a circle and the scalp dance begins. At first it is slow and monotonous but soon the men move faster as they circle around the poles, they vary the song with whoops and

yells, they bound into the air, brandish their weapons and work themselves up into a frenzy. The whole population become nearly crazy with excitement and only utter exhaustion brings the riot to a close.

No. 17. *Scalp Dance Song*

But he who is fierce in war is gentle in his wooing and the love songs of the Indians are exquisite little ballads. Have you ever listened to the birds as they call to one another in the dawn? So the Indian lover woos his mate. Very few of the love songs were supplied with words but I have no doubt but that the maiden for whom they were intended understood them. Many such a wooing have the wild flowers heard, but they only nodded their pretty heads and kept the secret of the trysting place.

No. 18. *Love Song*

But as there were true lovers among the Indian so there were also gay Lotharios—the heroes of many a conquest. The next song contains the words of such a man: “The gods have made me what I am—irresistible.”

No. 19. *Wao-wa-an*

One of the most remarkable of the Indian songs is the rallying cry. It is sung only in the hour of extreme danger, when the warrior feels that the battle is going against him. His life and reputation are at stake but he does not depend upon enthusiasm or excitement to save him. He goes within himself for help and his rallying song is one of dignity and strength. It reminds him of the joy at his birth and the words are, “Have they not said, a *man*?” Could inspiration be stronger? Let him rush into the thickest of the fight, he will prove himself a *man*.

No. 20. *Rallying Cry in the Face of Death*

So he sings on through all his strange, wild life, until at last the Great Silence lays its finger on the lips of the singer and he sings no more. Even then the end is not. The spirit can not see, for the shadow has fallen across its eyes but afar (*sic*) on its way to the Unknown it hears the singing of those it leaves behind. At a certain point in the funeral ceremony the Omaha cease wailing lest the sound of their sorrow should sadden the lonely traveller. When a man dies who has been greatly respected in the tribe, the men assemble, they make two incisions in the left arm and through these incisions they thrust a willow twig with green leaves. With blood dripping they move silently to the lodge where the dead man lies. They stand in a line, marking rhythm by beating together two willow sticks. Their song is a bright, happy melody suggesting birds and sunshine, it has no words.

No. 21. *Funeral Song*

The traveller shudders at the sight of another bloody heathen custom but there is in it a beauty of unselfishness. They believe that in some way, which they do not try to understand, the dead still live—and if they live, will not the sound of weeping make them sad? Their hearts are full of anguish, physical pain is a positive relief, but for the spirit there is only a song. Would that we Christians were as unselfish in our sorrow.

The music which I bring you today is but an echo. The songs are the songs of yesterday. The winds of the prairie and the pines of the forest have heard many of them for the last time. In a few more years the songs and the singers will be alike forgotten. The plains where the Indian hunted the buffalo are populous with cities, the forests where he trapped the deer are melting away, the shrill whistle of the locomotive breaks the weird silence of the mountain tops and Niagara, under whose mighty cataract lives the Thunder god with his seven giant sons—Niagara is in chains. We have conquered Nature, and what of her motherless children? We have taken them captives. We have spared their lives, but the Fate which decrees that the weaker race shall always give place to the stronger has condemned the Indian to the slow torture of degeneracy and final extinction.

The Indian warrior knew how to die, and the race today fronts its doom with the same haughty stoicism. With eyes that shed no tears the warrior saw the end of the tragedy—this is his captive song and it is become the captive song of his nation, "There is no evading death, the old men have not told us that anyone has found a way to pass beyond it, the career of a leader is difficult of accomplishment."

No. 22. *Captive Song*

SONGS USED AS ILLUSTRATIONS WITH LECTURE ON
MUSIC OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS

Serial No.	Title	Number in	
		Manuscript* No.	Book by Fletcher**
1	Song of Nass River Indians	8	
2	Tigua "Dance of the Wheel"	1	
3	Pawnee Song of Wa-wan Ceremony	2	49
4	Choral, Wa-wan Ceremony	3	41
5	Tribal Prayer	4	73
6	Song of the Thunder Dreamers	5	77
7	Horse Mystery Song	6	74
8	Buffalo Mystery Song	7	78
9	Song While Box Elder Wood is Charred	9	11
10	Prayer	10	12
11	Call to Ceremonial Repast	11	13
12	Song in Honor of Munchutunga	12	19
13	Dance Song of Haethuska Society	13	24
14	Lament	14	16
15	Sacred Pole, Call to Assembly	15	3

* Transcribed by J. C. Fillmore.

** *A Study of Omaha Music* (1893).

Serial No.	Title	Number in	
		Manuscript* No.	Book by Fletcher**
16	Song During Painting of Sacred Pole	16	4
17	Scalp Dance Song	17	70
18	Love Song	18	89
19	Wao-wa-an	20	83
20	Rallying Cry in Face of Death	21	1
21	Funeral Song	22	57
22	Captive Song	23	63

During her early years of lecturing on the music of the American Indian, Miss Densmore always included a group that she called "The Jungle Songs of America." An 1899 outline introduces "...the singing in the jungle as described by Kipling, the similar development of a child and a race, the Child of the Jungle called Mowgli, and the Child Race of Our Own Land—the Indian."

Inspired by Kipling's *Jungle Books*, she wrote, in 1906, and published privately a short sketch called "*The Plea of Our Brown Brother*." Francis E. Leupp, then Commissioner of Indian Affairs, contributed the following short introduction to the attractive pamphlet.

What we are wont to call the Indian problem is, after all, less a race problem than a human problem, and for the solution of any human problem the prime factor is sympathy. Until we can understand the Indian we cannot treat him or his affairs sympathetically; and it is with a view to helping forward such an understanding that Miss Densmore is putting out this little book. It will not carry the reader very far, perhaps, but, for the short distance it does go, it will make the path easier and pleasanter by its good companionship.

Long ago, when the world was new, a little Brown Brother of Mankind strayed away and was forgotten. The animals welcomed the child, leading him far up among the mountains, where they hid him in the deep of the canyons and the quiet of the pine forest. There they told him strange stories of the winds and the clouds; there, too, he learned the history of every beast and bird.

Soon he forgot his human ancestry and believed that he descended from an animal. When he played at war he cried, "I come from the wolves for the wolf spirit is in me!" and again he cried, "I am from the bears," or "I am of the turtles." For this reason he never killed an animal except for necessary food. On the walls of the canyons he drew strange pictures, and when he roamed the prairie he drew pictures on the skins that framed his dwelling. He knew the meaning of his pictures and his magic. He loved the sound of his own singing, though it often sounded like the cry of his wolf-friends.

Time passed, and the White Race in the pride of manhood came face to face with its Brown Brother. It saw the pictures and they brought a memory of its own half-forgotten childhood, but when it heard the wild songs, mingled with shrill whistles and pounding drums, it turned aside. Too many centuries had passed since, by the shore of a forgotten sea, it played with bits of broken shell and whispering reed, calling it music.

* Transcribed by J. C. Fillmore.

** *A Study of Omaha Music* (1893).

The Mowgli of North America was still a child and with the trustfulness of childhood he welcomed the stranger, calling him Brother.

He offered him freely of the spoils of the chase, told of his visions, sang his songs and exhibited his magic, but there was no answer of understanding on the face of his Brother, who mocked and cheated him. Then the child suddenly grew to be a man. Wrapping himself in his robe of buffalo-skin he hid his heart in a grim silence, but under the buffalo robe he held the poisoned arrow, and beneath the silence lay a deadly treachery. So the Indian became the problem of the New World.

For five centuries there has been a struggle. Spanish adventurers, French priests, English soldiers and American civilization tried to bring the American Mowgli back to man and he defied them. Cheated and deceived, he kept the haughty dignity that is his by right of inheritance; beaten back step by step he flung out his defiance, and bore his defeat with proud stoicism.

But a chance has come. Today he returns to his White Brother led by something within himself that he does not understand. He no longer teaches his children the weird jungle songs, but he sings them to himself when the night is full of the witchery that the wild creatures know. He comes at last—ignorant of the ethics of clothes, with the pitiful childish decorations in his hair, but in his heart the strength of Nature's noblemen.

He comes at last of his own accord to us who do not understand him, and the tragedy of the past, the sadness of the present and the hope of the future are in his plea that his children be given an education and taught the White Man's Way.

He comes: What shall be his welcome?

It is with this mood, sympathy and understanding that Miss Densmore marked all her work. At the time of these demonstrations, her appearances were reviewed in local newspapers.

An entertainment that promises to be of rare interest will be given at the Art Institute Tuesday afternoon. . . . Far from being the crude tom-tom pounding and shouting which palefaces think it, Indian music expresses brief themes of rare color and originality and even has musical value in the higher sense. (!)
(Chicago *Times-Herald*)

Miss Densmore is certainly developing an entirely original field in her work; and opens vistas of new and undreamed interest to both the music lover and the student of a dying race. (Sheridan Road *News Letter*)

Miss Densmore spoke in an easy, quiet manner that held the attention of her audience from the first, telling her story in a charming style, all her own.
(St. Paul *Globe*)

Yesterday afternoon the regular Wednesday musical of the Schubert Club at Conover Hall was made exceptionally enjoyable by Miss Frances Densmore. . . . who did not appear before the club as a stranger, for her interesting lecture on Wagner last year is still retained as a pleasant memory. . . . Clearly and concisely she told how the weird, original music of the American Indians reveals an entirely new phase of their character. Heretofore very little attention has been paid them in this respect. . . . (St. Paul *Pioneer Press*)

Alice Cunningham Fletcher, who heard some of these lectures when Miss Densmore appeared in Washington, wrote the following in 1904:

Your years of unswerving fidelity to this music proves your appreciation of its value and only one who has that appreciation is entitled to undertake the task of presenting it to others. Your honesty and faithfulness in the labor of bringing before the people these American wildflowers of song has been proved, and I commend you in the task you have undertaken.

EXPERIENCES AT THE ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION (1904)

The following paper was sent to me early in May, 1955, when Miss Densmore was preparing collections of manuscripts to be forwarded to the Bureau of American Ethnology. In the *American Anthropologist* (October-December, 1906) appeared her paper *The Music of the Filipinos*, a summary of the technical results of a study made two years before at the St. Louis Exposition.

This manuscript was evidently written soon after the experiences that it describes. It was never offered for publication. The opening pages are personal in their interest and the remainder concerns my study of Filipino music in exhibition villages. The study was conducted in the Igorot, Negrito, Lanao and Samal Moro villages for three weeks. Here are my personal impressions of the experience—[FD, May 10, 1955]

Many and varied are the personal experiences of a lecturer. "The music of the American Indian" has been my theme for the past ten years and my interest in it has brought me into contact with many delightful white people as well as intelligent Indians. In giving my lectures I have been charmingly entertained by schools and clubs but have never had any experience as unique as that which befell me at the St. Louis Exposition.

I was engaged for a lecture recital at Festival Hall and reached St. Louis two days before the date. The morning after my arrival I went to the depot to see about my trunk and called at the music store to inspect the piano that I was to use. This finished, I started for my car but was overtaken by a representative of the piano factory who chanced to be in the music store at the time, and who wished to see me on a trifling matter. In leaving he expressed his regret that he could not hear my lecture in the afternoon. I replied that my appointment was for the following day but he assured me that the official program announced my lecture at four that very afternoon. It was then about eleven in the morning, I was in a strange city, six miles from my boardingplace and no one knew how many miles from the transfer wagon that probably carried my trunk, but only five hours away from the most important engagement of my career. There was only one chance of keeping the appointment and that was the chance that my trunk had not yet left the depot, and it required only a moment to send a curbstome express galloping down the street to waylay the trunk if possible and bring

it to the music store. Without the Indian tom-tom and medicinerattles contained in that precious trunk there could be no recital, and how could I sing the Funeral Song without the little sticks cut for me by my good friend Makawastewin! Always fortunate in my friends, I found myself the guest of the piano manufactor and its representative whom we will call Mr. Strong. As the hand of the big clock [*sic*] crept along toward half past eleven we discussed details—could I take my gown from the trunk at the music store, repack it in a tailor's box and go to my boardingplace in a car, escorted by a messenger boy with the box under one arm and the tom-tom under the other? Alas, St. Louis is a city of magnificent distances and at a quarter after twelve it was evident that I should not see my boardingplace if I wished to keep my appointment. We knew that someone had blundered but it was useless then to wonder *who*. Although Rome falls we must eat, and I went out for a melancholy luncheon. It was after one o'clock when the trunk arrived at the hotel to which I had gone, and Mr. Strong regaled me with the express man's thrilling story of how he secured it. But with my joy at seeing it came the realization that every toilet article was in my suitcase, six miles away. A friend of the helpless is the drug store which is as omnipresent as the policeman, and even in the wholesale district I was able to secure a few necessities. Returning to the hotel with my package an awful thought swept over me. Mr. Strong dashed out of the hotel exclaiming, "What has happened now? I saw such an awful look come over your face." "Its *pins*," I replied, "I haven't any *pins*!" "How many do you need? Will ten do? I guess I can get ten at the barber shop." We were both so intent and serious that the funny side of it all did not come to us at the time.

I can face an ordinary audience with more equanimity than a hotel clerk, and rejoiced in seeing all arrangements made by Mr. Strong and the manager of the music store who vied with him in thoughtfulness. Wishing to notify friends in the city of my change of plan and finding that they had no telephone I stepped to the telegraph desk and sent a message which was carefully delivered to them an hour after the close of my lecture.

It was half past one when I went to my room and I had three quarters of an hour in which to collect my somewhat scattered thoughts and, if possible, "Tune up" the tom-tom and dress for the lecture. No carriage would undertake the trip of eight miles in time, and no chaffeur at a neighboring garage would undertake to drive an auto up the Acropolis of Festival Hall, so at a quarter after two I took a street car escorted by Mr. Strong. Fortunately the day was cool enough for a dust-coat that covered my gown, and the car was not crowded. I had not been able to find anyone who had been in Festival Hall and could describe it to me and I had never met the gentleman under whose auspices I was to lecture, but I was at least on my way to the Fair with my tom-tom in the brown canvas case, and could easily feel that the most exciting adventures of the day were over. The most picturesque part, however, was still to come.

We reached the great entrance to the Fair and a wheeled chair was soon bearing me across the end of the Pike, through the beautiful plaza and in the shadows of the lofty buildings. It was like dreamland or like some

magnificent picture suddenly made alive, but the touch of too great realism was everywhere given by rows of people eating lunches out of messy paper bags, and lurid advertising boxes. Still there was a peaceful quiet in the June air and a restfulness in the noble architecture.

Suddenly we met an oriental procession at the foot of the Jerusalem hill. It was coming on a road which merged in the one on which we were travelling and my wheel-chair man should have waited to let it pass. Not so. He sprinted a few feet and I found myself at the head of the company which I had seen a moment before. Up the Jerusalem hill we went, I riding in state with the tom-tom at my feet and Mr. Strong at my right hand, while close behind us was a dervish who brandished immensely long knives, using them like Indian clubs, waving them above his head and sweeping them low to the ground. Behind the dervish came a company of men in short dresses playing on squeaky little shepherd's pipes and behind the musicians were lofty camels striding slowly and bearing on their patient backs a troupe of languid oriental beauties in red and yellow. So we all went up the hill together and when at last I found myself in the "green room" of Festival Hall with half an hour to spare I felt like exclaiming, "Childe Roland to the dark tower came."

Compared with what had preceded it the lecture itself was too tame for comment.

After my lecture at the Indian Building the following day, where I had the great pleasure of meeting Indian educators from all over the United States, I turned my attention to the Filipinos and added to my store of unique experiences.

Many have written concerning various phases of Filipino life and character but I claim for myself the honor of being the first professional musician to seriously study their music. Dr. Albert Ernest Jenks, Chief of the Ethnological Survey of the Philippine Islands, gave me every facility for study and I remained three weeks, going from one village to another, day after day. It is not the purpose of this paper to give the scientific results of my work but only to relate a few incidents connected with it. [The villages to be mentioned are the Igorot, Negrito, Lanao Moro and Samal Moro.]

In a quiet corner of the Igorot village I happened one day upon a primitive music lesson. Sitting on a narrow bench beside one of the bamboo houses was a man who was teaching others to play the gongs, or copper pans. They would play together for a time, the one in the debonair style of a professional and the others with clumsy carefulness, then the teacher would explode into suggestions, evidently telling the others to watch him closely as he used the little drumstick in his right hand and struck the gong with the flat fingers of his left. The pupils would bravely try again with varying success. The gongs were twelve inches in diameter and the drumsticks were seven or eight inches long. Using the following memoranda the music can be easily produced on any available pan, for the pupils were so slow and stupid that I was able to absorb their instructions. / indicates a beat with the drumstick and — indicates a beat with the hand, using the fingers more than the palm. This is the music, — the usual sign indicating an eighth rest, $\frac{4}{4}$ — — ♯ — # | — — ♯ — # | etc.

There were three distinct groups in the Igorot village and this peaceful scene occurred in the Tinguianese group which was farthest from the big gate where the megaphone announced "Seventy ferocious head-hunters, the wild men who eat dog."

The frenzied interest taken in the diet of the Igorot made me blush for my nation. The Igorot eats dog and the German eats sausage, but a man's a man for 'a that.

Never shall I forget Ybag, the Igorot flute player, and his weird, sweet music. It haunted me with its half-human cadences and I could imagine the witchery of Pan and his pipes. Ybag was one of the oldest men in the village and his hair and fuzzy beard were gray, his shoulders were bent and his eyes were closed. The tawny color of his skin was accentuated by the dull blue girdle which hung down to his knees. Alas, the day came when some philanthropist put my artist into striped bathing trunks of orange and black! It was right if he was destined to be a Princeton athlete but he did not play the flute as he used to do in the old blue scarf. A few scattered notes, a little soaring trill but not the old gush of melody. He stopped to conquer his instrument letting one end of it rest on the ground and holding it there securely between his toes. The bansi (please do not pronounce it *banshee*) was a piece of bamboo about two and a half feet long with four finger-holes on the upper side and one for the thumb on the under side, and the end resting on the ground was sharply pointed. On the bamboo was a fine tracery of geometric figures, men and animals, with perhaps an invocation to some mountain muse. A pure flute tone had the bansi and yet if it were introduced into a modern orchestra it would probably be placed with the other wood-winds because it was blown across the end instead of at the side.

The Negrito told me that at home they danced to the music of the flute—could anything be more idyllic?—but at the Fair they used the less romantic copper pan.

One day I heard a mournful sound in the Negrito village and asked what it meant, the reply was *Undas*, meaning "somebody dead." The music was full of wild pathos, the cadences long and swaying. Melody was there, and dramatic power, but very little of what we call *rhythm*. Hastening to the little theater I saw a man sitting there on the ground, his head resting on his knees and his bow and arrows lying beside him. They told me that he was taking the part of the man bereaved, and soon the villagers came with soft footsteps singing the "undas," to lay a little gift upon his bow and arrows. The voices were low and musical but the man did not heed the singing nor the pitiful little gifts. This is their custom at home, and they told me that no one is too poor to bring a gift, though it be only a few grains of rice. It was a touching little drama and my eyes were dim as I thought of how many times it had been a reality among the mountains, in the land beyond the sea.

Very different was the music in the Lanao Moro village where Dr. Jenks introduced me to five turbaned sultans who bowed very low. My enjoyment of Lanao Moro music was slightly clouded by the fact that I had been told how terribly wicked the people were. One grows accustomed to wild tales about professional musicians but I was assured that there were probably no

more ferocious, ugly and generally "tricky" people on the face of the earth than these same Moros who had once tried to kill their keeper and whose village was then closed to the public because the only man who could keep them in order had been called away by a death in his family.

Dr. Jenks explained that "Señorita Densmore" wished to hear some music and the sultan readily consented. "The little theater was not quite in order but the men should sweep it out." The big gongs as large as kettle-drums were in the bamboo house where a slave wife died the night before and they had been having a native ceremony, but "the men should bring them and meantime they would give me a love song." The fascinating sultan was said to have a hundred and fifty wives at home and a *crèche* where twenty cradles were simultaneously rocked by one foot and a complicated mechanism of levers. In this, as in some other Filipino villages I found the love song sung by a woman—can it be possible that our new possessions are more advanced than our own country?

The woman who was to sing came softly into the little theater (which was simply a shed with doors on three sides) and sat down near one of the doors, holding her yellow head-scarf before her face. The song was a monotonous crooning but suddenly it was interrupted by a yell like the scream of a wounded beast. Two Moro warriors rushed from opposite doors of the theater and came together in the middle with a terrific *bang!* I cannot exactly state how high I jumped from my seat. The crooning love song went on as the warriors clutched again and again, one breaking his shield into splinters. It was certainly dramatic and I should judge real love-making was rather strenuous in Mindanao. The orchestra being assembled I was further entertained by playing which lacked nothing in verve and spirit, the effect being heightened by the fact that the orchestra consisted entirely of drums and copper gongs.

At the close of the program I thanked the five sultans, Dr. Jenks interpreting, shook hands with them again most elaborately, and passed out through the little rustic gate into the world of white people. My hair was still a bit erect, but not for any money would I have parted with the sensation of having been the only white woman in a village filled with the most ferocious savages in the world. Anyway that head sultan had most charming manners!

The Bagabos were not yet unpacked so I missed the pleasure of hearing one of the most musical tribes in the islands but I became quite at home in the Samal Moro village. Mr. H. C. Lewis was in charge of this village, with its quaint houses on stilts in the lake. Instead of bringing the sultans of this tribe it was decided to bring one datto and all his household, with a goodly number of villagers. The sultans are, of course, higher in office than the dattos, so this village was less aristocratic but certainly much more comfortable than the others.

An instrument in the orchestra interested me very much. It consisted of a set of copper gongs ranged on a low wooden frame and played in the manner of a xylophone. Being anxious to satisfy myself upon certain musical points I determined that with this, as with any other instrument, the only way to fully understand it is to learn to play on it. Accordingly I

sought Mr. Lewis, confided to him my ambition to take a Moro music lesson and described the woman I had selected for a teacher. She was plump and looked very good natured (always consider this when selecting a music teacher) and readily consented to the proposition as interpreted by Mr. Lewis. There was no performance going on in the little theater so we repaired thither to use the concert grand instrument. I sat down beside Simaya on a bench about six inches high and sixteen inches long and it was lucky that Simaya was goodnatured as well as plump. She placed one of the little sticks in each of my hands and placed her hands over mine, guiding them in the mysteries of a tune resembling "chopsticks." Anon she would take the sticks in her own hands and perform in a dazzling bravura style, but she laughed merrily at my dilettante efforts and seemed well satisfied with my progress. I learned more about musical culture in Moro than she could have explained to me in a year, even if we had happened to understand the same language. As to *what* I learned—that is another and a more technical story, but as my musical education progressed I noticed that the side seats of the theater were rapidly filling with interested spectators. Several curious natives in something less than evening clothes wandered in and gathered behind me while one or two began to bang on the soup-kettle gongs that hung heavy over my head. Now it happens that at certain hours of the day there was given in this theater the frenzied "Mohammedan spear dance," and the spears and shields were still standing in the corner. Two men gave this dance, in which they threatened each other again and again with the spear, even coming so close together that the point of one man's spear was only a few inches from his adversary's eye, then they would separate, their brown feet fairly twinkling in the sand, until finally one man would fall, his shield over his body, and his opponent's spear firmly planted on his neck. This was, of course, accompanied by the orchestra, and the performance of Simaya, the man at the soup-kettle and myself inspired two small boys to undertake a similar dance. Out of the corner of my eye I saw them staggering under the heavy shields and trying to poise the spears that were almost twice as long as themselves.

The people on the side seats were vastly amused but I never hoped so fervently that I hadn't a friend in the audience! At last one of the youngsters fell down, covering himself with his shield in the most approved manner, but so large was the shield that it left only his head and kicking little brown heels visible. Indeed he looked like an uncommonly large and lively turtle and I laughed so hard that I could play no longer. Simaya too could not stay on her end of the stool and the music lesson was finished. I turned to take up my notebook but the pencil was missing. A grinning Moro pointed at the boys and together Simaya and I chased them—quick little creatures they were, and their little brown bodies slipped from Simaya's grasp whenever she caught them. There was a great deal of chattering and at last she captured the one who had the pencil—where do you suppose he had hidden it? In what corresponded to his trouser pocket. My pencil was twisted in the hem of the bright little sash that was his only garment. Of course the point was broken but it was worth something to know how a Moro boy carries his treasures.

Through the kindness of Mr. Lewis I went to the village early in the morning and Datto Fecuneli persuaded two of his favorite wives to sing for me. The little concert had been planned the day before but there were a great many excuses when I arrived. The favorite wives told Mr. Lewis that they were not ready for they "did not think Señorita meant what she said that she would come." Dr. Jenks said it was evidently the same everywhere for he had never yet seen a musician who *was* prepared (!). There were more explanations in Spanish to the Datto and a great deal of chattering in Moro among the members of the Datto's household who gathered in the broad porch. One of the favorite wives sat curled up on the seat beside me, her arms on the railing of the porch and her head on her arms, looking out across the water, paying no attention to the chatter of the others. Suddenly she began to sing and I fairly held my breath to listen—wild and sweet was the melody, filled with the long vowels that are the echo of the call of the sea. As it rose and fell one seemed to feel the atmosphere of a distant land that was home to the strange singer. When she stopped, I remained motionless as one would who lingered near a wild bird. I did not wait in vain. She sang again, looking out on the bright sails and bamboo huts along the shore of the lagoon. There had been no change of position. She still sat curled up with her head on her arms when the second song was finished.

I hastened to pass a box of chocolates and these inspired another favorite wife to take her place beside the first. Together they sang a duet that was full of charm. I asked, through an interpreter, what the words might be and he told me that all the songs I heard were love songs and that the singers improvised both words and melody. When it was finished, Mr. Lewis told me that I had heard more songs than he had heard during his four years' life among these people in the Islands.

The Negritos told me that the song I heard most often in their village was a love song which "at home" would be sung by a man and a woman but could be sung by any number of people. In both Moro villages they sang love songs for me as being the songs that came first to their lips. Even we who are so far removed from elemental life sing of love more than anything else. Can it be that all music was made for this?

GERONIMO'S SONG

Early in 1906, Miss Densmore wrote the following sketch of an incident encountered in St. Louis. It was published in the *Indian School Journal* in April, 1906.

Peacefully engaged in printing his autograph on tinted cards and whittling out bows and arrows, Geronimo sat in the Indian Building at the St. Louis Exposition. His keen eyes watched the crowd through steel-rimmed spectacles, and he looked the philosopher rather than the warrior.

Today Geronimo is a prisoner of war, but let us remember that he fought long and well. He terrorized the frontier for twenty-five years, but he began the raid because a party of Mexicans murdered his wife and his two babies. He said that the sight of their bodies made his heart hard, and surely they were avenged. A race that can produce a man like Geronimo possesses qualities that will be of tremendous dynamic force when properly trained and directed.

Day after day I haunted the enclosure where he sat. A little boy was his constant companion, and was often seen near Geronimo's tepee which bore the enormous green thunderbird that is his crest. Why is it that a bird should symbolize power and dominion? It may be going far afield to recall the eagle of the Roman legions, the eagle of the German army, and the noble bird that adorns our own coinage, holding in one claw the olive branch and in the other a bundle of arrows.

It was not difficult to make the acquaintance of Geronimo's little companion, and one day I said to the boy, "Tell Geronimo that I would like to shake hands with him." The old warrior responded with alacrity, but it was such a little hand that I took in mine—slender and soft as a woman's.

With the rashness of my race I said to the boy, "Tell Geronimo that I like Indian music and wish I could hear him sing." There was a flash in the old eyes behind the steel-rimmed spectacles, a slight drawing up of the aged figure and I confess to a feeling of relief when the crowd swallowed me up.

"Nevertheless," said I, "Mr. Geronimo shall be conquered by my craft," so I bided my time with the patience of my red brethren.

At last my day came. He was humming to himself as he worked at an arrow, measuring it carefully by putting it in the crook of his elbow to see if it exactly reached to the tip of his middle finger. Perhaps it was an especially satisfactory arrow and the feeling of it brought back his old life. Whatever may have been the inspiration he was actually singing a song.

I slipped into ambush behind him where I would not attract his attention, and noted down his song. He sang it softly but with a peculiar swing, beating the time with his foot.

The curious throng did not stop to listen to his singing. They saw only an old Indian sitting on a box, whittling an arrow—but before his eyes there stretched the plains and the mountains, with never a white man to bar their beauty.

This is Geronimo's song:



PRELUDE OF THE STUDY OF INDIAN MUSIC IN MINNESOTA

This short paper appeared in the *Minnesota Archaeologist* in April 1945 (pp. 27-31). A year before, Miss Densmore had sent me this manuscript for my files to use for reference.

A large undertaking does not begin abruptly but the events that lead up to it are seldom included in its story. My present purpose is to relate a few events that led to my study of Chippewa and Sioux music in Minnesota and to pay tribute, so far as possible, to white and Indian friends who aided the beginning of that work.

A Chippewa Indian from Walpole Island, Ontario, entered Seabury Divinity School at Faribault, Minnesota, in 1896. Dr. A. A. Butler, dean of Seabury, knew of my interest in Indian music and told me this man whose name was Edward Coley Kah-o-sed, a name that became familiar in connection with our Chippewa missions. Years later Rev. Kah-o-sed, stationed at Red Lake Agency, secured and sent me a fine set of four birchbark rattles and a drum that had been used in ceremonies of the Grand Medicine Society (Midewiwin). I used them in many lectures and they are now in the National Museum in Washington.

An interest in the missions of the Episcopal Church led to an early correspondence with Rev. Joseph A. Gilfillan, at St. Columba's Mission at White Earth. He had an expert knowledge of the idioms of the Chippewa language and after I began recording songs he explained the meaning of many difficult Chippewa words.

My first contact with the Chippewa was in 1901 when my sister Margaret and I went to Port Arthur, Ontario, on a pleasure trip. We took a Chippewa girl with us to gather blueberries on Mt. McKay and talked with members of her family*. Four years later we went to Grand Marais where I employed an interpreter for the first time. The man was Caribou, the well-known guide, and he took us to call on a medicine man and other Chippewa in the village. They posed for photographs, we crossed the harbor in Caribou's leaky birchbark canoe and waited for the next boat from Duluth.

Our trip extended to Port Arthur where we made the acquaintance of Mr. Finger who was connected with the Pigeon River Lumber Company. He had been a "timber looker" in the Hudson Bay country and his stories of the wilderness filled us with a desire for more adventures. When the time came for our departure, Mr. Finger and his wife invited us to go as far as Grand Portage with them on the Pigeon River Lumber Company's tug, an invitation we gladly accepted. We had supper at the Lumber Company's camp on Pigeon River and reached Grand Portage in the middle of the night. Peter Gagnon's trading post was on an island and the water was too shallow for the tug to land, so we were rowed ashore in a wide flat boat while dogs barked and lights began to flicker at the trading post. Mr. Finger had known Gagnon for many years so we were assured of a welcome. From there we went to the Chippewa village on the mainland in a sailboat with the man who carried the mail. The Indians were in charge of a government farmer who introduced us and gave information about them.

* See memoranda following this article.

The chief of the Chippewa at Grand Portage was Little Spruce (Minagunz) and after Mr. Finger and his party returned to Port Arthur, my sister and I went alone to the Indian village. The Indians let us take their pictures and Little Spruce posed with his drum, while his two wives stood behind him. He sang a song which I wrote down, the words meaning "Manido (spirit) is looking at me". But the most important event of the trip was a ceremony that Little Spruce and his sons gave for us in their house. It was part of a Grand Medicine ceremony. A pole was set up, with decorations that indicated the degree held by Little Spruce in the society. The songs were interesting and the ceremony was enacted with a simple dignity and sincerity.

Passenger boats did not call at Grand Portage but a Booth and Company boat came once a week for fish, caught by the Indians, and we embarked on that for Duluth. Once more we took our seats in the wide flat boat and were rowed across the water in the night while we watched the flickering lights at the trading post.

The next year (1906) I began my study of Sioux music by writing down two songs for me by Good Earth Woman and her friend whose name meant "One who is saving." They lived at the little Sioux village at Prairie Island, about ten miles from Red Wing, and were my friends though they could not speak English and I could not speak their language. The same year I gave a lecture on Indian music at Tower, Minnesota, for the benefit of their Public Library. This lecture was under the auspices of the local Episcopal Church. Pink handbills announced the event, with the heading in large type, "Where are you going tonight? To the Opera House, of course, to hear Frances Densmore lecture on Indian music." The Opera House was a vacant store, the large hall was in the second story, reached by outside stairs, and the seats were rows of boards on which little numbered squares of pasteboard were placed to show the spaces for sittings. The audience was large and the event considered a success.

The next day I was taken to see the Vermilion Indian School, little realizing how many government schools would be my habitation in future years. Then I was taken to the house of a Chippewa medicine man, on the shore of Lake Vermilion. He was not at home, but I saw dead owls suspended by their necks from the branches of trees. Owls are sometimes used in magic and probably he was preparing them for that purpose.

My destination was White Earth where I planned to attend the celebration of the Fourteenth of June, held on the anniversary of the removal of the tribe to that reservation. My schedule was such that I had a day to spare so I stopped at Cass Lake, made the acquaintance of some Chippewa and secured several stories.

Arriving at Ogema on the morning of the fourteenth, I found the drive across the prairie to the agency a revelation of beauty. I have seen the prairie in all its moods but it has never been lovelier than on that June morning. I was entertained at the rectory by Rev. Benjamin Brigham and Mrs. F. C. Wiswell, the missionary in charge of instruction in lace making. There I met Chippewa clergymen from various parts of the reservation and with clerical escort I went to my first Fourteenth of June. They introduced me to the leaders of the Chippewa as well as to members of my own race.

The celebration was colorful and picturesque, with the Indians dancing in full regalia. Chief Wadena and Joe Critt were there and let me take their pictures. Chief Mejakigijig was among the dancers, with prominent chiefs and men from other reservations. There were war dances in which veterans of wars with the Sioux dramatized their victories, and "squaw dances" in which an invitation to join was accompanied by a gift of beadwork or a few yards of calico. I heard for the first time the throb of the huge drum and the lusty songs of the men who sat around it. My new friends explained it all to me, described the participants and interpreted for me.

The name of Warren is prominent among the Chippewa and members of that family aided my work. Too much appreciation cannot be expressed for their help, without which the work could not have been done so effectively. Mrs. C. W. Mee, a niece of William Warren, historian of the tribe, encouraged my work, realizing that the old people and the old ways would soon be gone; she also interpreted for me in many informal contacts with the Chippewa. Her mother, Mrs. Julia Warren Spears, related stories of the old days and her aunt, Mrs. Mary Warren English, was my principal interpreter for more than ten years in work for the Bureau of American Ethnology. I also met members of the Beaulieu family who were influential among the Indians and aided my work.

In 1907 I returned to White Earth for the Fourteenth of June Celebration bringing my sister Margaret who has shared so many of my experiences. We remained as guests of Mrs. Mee and attended the Fourth of July Celebration at Detroit (now Detroit Lakes). Indians from White Earth took part in the dancing and my friend Big Bear (Kitchimakwa) consented to record songs at the local music store after the celebration. The result was twelve cylinder records—a small beginning, but some of them are now in the Smithsonian-Densmore Collection in the National Archives at Washington.

Red Lake was then visited and Mrs. Mee joined us there, again helping us to "meet the right people" among the Indians. For three weeks we stayed at the Spears Hotel, enjoying the atmosphere of a typical Indian reservation. An old woman, a member of the Grand Medicine Society, sang one of its songs and drew the picture by which such songs are identified. Later I showed it to a member of the society at White Earth who recognized it and sang the same melody.

From Red Lake I went alone to the Leech Lake Agency at Onigum in search of more material. There I found that Flat Mouth, the last chief of the Pillager band of Chippewa, was dying and the members of the Grand Medicine Society had been permitted to do what they could for him. The gathering was at some distance from the Agency and I was the only white person present. Hour after hour I stood outside the circle of Indians, watching the medicine men and listening to their songs. As the end approached, Flat Mouth was carried into a teepee and a gun was fired when his spirit passed away. A funeral feast was held the next day and the Indians let me go into the lodge while it was in progress. They drew back the curtain that concealed the body of the dead chief and let me take a photograph. In all my experiences I have never felt so much alone!

With my note books, photograph films and the precious box of cylinder records I returned to my home in Red Wing and wrote to the Bureau of American Ethnology, telling of the interesting material among the Chippewa that would soon be lost forever. The Bureau made an allotment of funds and in September, 1907, I returned to Onigum with the best recording equipment available and began my recording of Indian songs and study of Indian customs. That work has now included practically every region from British Columbia to the Everglades of Florida.

An old Indian said, after recording his songs: "I am glad that my voice is to be preserved in Washington, in a building that cannot burn down." I, too, am glad that so many Indian songs are preserved and it is expected that, after the war, copies of recorded songs may be available to students of Indian music.

A copy of the following memoranda written June 26, 1944, was sent in a letter to me on that date.

My first contact with the Chippewa Indians was in 1901, near Fort William, Ontario. My sister and I talked with these Indians and a Chippewa girl was our guide and companion on an interesting climb up Mt. McKay. On our return she suggested that we stop at the mission to rest. The priest was most courteous and offered dandelion wine to refresh us, saying the brothers made it every year and found it refreshing when working in the fields. He then showed me the mission cook book containing the recipe, which I copied. He kindly signed the recipe as a souvenir of the trip.

Dandelion Wine

Pour a gallon of boiling water over two gallons of dandelion blossoms and let stand 48 hours. Then strain and add 2 lbs. white sugar, 2 lemons sliced and a hard yeast cake. Allow the wine to stand three weeks. Strain again and bottle.

s/ A. Baudin, S. J.
Fort William Mission

FIRST FIELD TRIP AMONG THE CHIPPEWA

Miss Densmore wrote accounts of the beginnings of her work on several occasions, in notebooks, in diaries, and in several articles. After preliminary study, guided by Alice Fletcher and her publications, Miss Densmore began to work "on her own" as the following manuscript relates. For five years, beginning in 1895, she had given lectures based on Miss Fletcher's material, and then she decided to "depend less on Miss Fletcher's work and do work myself." Extracts from a notebook and diary of 1905 were sent to me in 1950 describing a trip to Grand Marais and Grant Portage in Minnesota.

The data here presented are taken from my diary of 1905 and my notebook of a trip to the north shore of Lake Superior in August of that year. To this data will be added some personal reminiscences. This was my first field trip and I was accompanied by my sister Margaret, who was my faithful companion on many later expeditions. Four years previously we visited

Port Arthur, Ontario, and took a little Chippewa girl with us to gather berries on Mt. McKay. This was our first acquaintance with the Chippewa, and led the way to this ambitious field trip.

There was no road along the north shore of Lake Superior at that time and Grand Marais was reached only by a small boat, carrying a few passengers, that "called in" on its way to and from Port Arthur. We left Duluth on the morning of August 9, 1905. The day was fine and we found congenial people among the passengers. Mr. and Mrs. Sibenius were making the trip that day and it is my impression that he was an official of a large lumber company. My cousin in Duluth had given me a letter of introduction to the banker in Grand Marais, so we felt that our trip was beginning auspiciously. Through my cousin's letter of introduction we secured a place to stay.

On Thursday, August 10, we engaged the services of an Indian named Caribou who showed us around the village. We noted that the houses of the Indians were lined with building paper, as it is cold in that north country. We were shown the Jesuit church and I made notes of various customs. That evening we had a bonfire on the rocks, and Caribou brought us some dolls with Chippewa costumes. The principal event of that day was a ride across the entrance of the harbor, in Caribou's birchbark canoe. We mentioned this to someone who exclaimed, "You didn't let Caribou take you across the entrance of the harbor in his canoe! He generally has some accident when he does that." I remembered that he landed a little distance below the entrance, but we had enjoyed the experience and were not harmed by it.

The next morning, Friday, August 11, Caribou came at nine o'clock ready to begin another day. His first suggestion was that we go and call on his grandmother. I learned that his grandmother lived at some distance from the village, her camp being reached by a narrow path through thick woods. For this trip I requested him to go ahead of us, and he kept saying, "Don' be afraid, don' be 'fraid." We found his grandmother baking bread and making coffee. There was a dog fight in progress, and I noted a number of customs, including a way of tying on a berry pail, though my notes do not state the purpose of fastening the pail.

We made an interesting call on Shingibis, who lived in a house covered with cedar bark. The usual details of a Chippewa camp were noted. On this page I find an incident that I remember. I asked an Indian what songs they sang when they were hunting and he replied, "We didn't sing then. We kept *still*."

We took the boat for Port Arthur at 1:30, August 11, and passed Grand Portage at 5 o'clock.

On Saturday, August 12, we arrived at Port Arthur at 8 o'clock. My notebook records that we passed Pie Island "just after breakfast" and saw Mt. McKay through the mist. That day we had a picnic at Welcome Island.

The entries of the next few days are concerning various picnics, teas, and a call on Miss McIntire at Fort William. Her father was a pioneer at that point and she had a collection of Chippewa articles that were quite an

education to me. Several pages are devoted to a description of the Great Northern Elevator and the commerce at Fort William.

While in Port Arthur we made the acquaintance of Mr. Finger and his family. Mr. Finger was a "trouble looker" for the Pigeon River Lumber Company and his family were friendly people. Mr. Finger was going to Grand Portage on business and it was suggested that we go with them, which we were happy to do. It was arranged that we go down with them, remain after they returned, and resume our homeward journey when the next Booth Fish Company boat called at Grand Portage for fish. Accordingly, we started on Monday, August 21, on the *Laura Grace*, which was the Pigeon River Lumber Company's boat. The party consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Finger, their niece, my sister and myself.

We arrived at Grand Portage at 12:30 in the morning, according to my diary. The trading post, kept by Pete Gagnon, was located on an island and the *Laura Grace* could not land, so we were taken ashore in small row boats. It was quite an adventure in the dark. Pete's house was of logs, and we had a room upstairs with one window that was divided by a partition so that half was in one room and half in the other room of the upper floor. By that arrangement it lighted both rooms in the daytime, and what took place in one room was reflected in the other half of the window.

The Indian village was on the main land and next day we crossed in a sail boat to call on the Indians. I remember another occasion when my sister crossed in the sail boat with the man who carried the mail to the Indian village where a government farmer was stationed. Another recollection of this time is connected with my photography. I was obliged to go into Pete's icehouse to change the plates in my plate holders and had to put the camera and boxes of plates on cakes of ice covered with sawdust. This was primitive but I secured some excellent pictures.

Mr. Finger took us, on the *Laura Grace*, to an interesting place along the shore of the main land where there were thick woods, and I think he went there on business. We had a wonderful picnic in the lumber camp where Mr. Finger cooked our supper in genuine lumber camp fashion. It was wonderful to think in what remote places he had made a similar fire and cooked his food.

Soon they were gone and my sister and I began our acquaintance with the Chippewa in this ancient and famous village. The medicine man was Minagunz; his name meant Little Spruce, but he was commonly known as Spruce. It was said that "He has such a tree in his yard that only blossoms once in seven years—has pretty flowers." The postmaster was Nelson Mushquash, and a woman who spoke English was Miss Josie Makosan.

Preceding this information in my notebook are two pages with sketches of two decorated drums and the names of Louis Maskwash (To Pull Hard, as the wind against a sail) and Louis Gabiosa (Walk All Around). Unfortunately, the notes do not make it clear whether these men lived at Grand Portage or whether the drums, belonging to them, may have been seen in Miss McIntire's collection at Fort William. Around the edge of one are the words *Georgius III Dei Gratia Britannicum F. D.* The notebook states that "the arms are on the reverse side, with the date 1814." The other drum

has the following words around the edge: "Franklin Pierce, President of the United States," and the date 1853. It is regretted that the information about these drums is not clear.

According to the notebook, our first call at Grand Portage was on Mrs. Crawford and the only notation is that, "a hat was put down from upstairs to stuff hole in ceiling."

The observations at the home of Spruce were more detailed and comprise the following, one item on each line of the note book as though noted while we were there:

Hangers of twigs
 Herbs tied up to dry
 Guns on racks in two places
 Four clocks, all of them wrong
 Window held up by butcher knife
 Hole in floor mended with red tin
Xmas London Ill. News
 Deerskin folded ready to make into moccasins
 Splint mats around wall
 One family to each mat
 Woman making moccasins
 Lard pails (covered) held medicine
 Tomato cans for cuspidors
 All were smoking. He "had dry green leaves in a beaded bag, took the leaves out, cut them on a wooden tray that had a long hollow place in it." [sketch of bag and tray] "cut with hunting knife and mixed with tobacco—said to be some herb that he gathers in the mountains every year."

This description is followed, in the notebook, with the Chippewa words of a song that Spruce sang for me, and with the melody in musical notation. The words are: *Manitou hanegana wabenug*, translated, "Manitou, he is looking at me." (These Chippewa words are not in the phonetics that I used later but are spelled according to the common English pronunciation. They are easily recognized.)

From my diary it appears that I attended a dance on August 23 that was wholly or in part connected with the Midéwiwin (Grand Medicine Society). Apparently it was not explained to me, and the Indians did not think I would attach importance to what I saw. My notebook does not mention it, but the notations of the following day refer to it and to my recognition that it was important.

My diary states that on the next day, August 24, we attended a dance at the village, and the notebook contains many observations concerning it. On that day we were present at a small ceremony of the Midéwiwin.

The following notations are taken *verbatim* from my diary:

"Went into house—quite large room—Spruce sat at end—string tied to rafters—hung his drum to other end when in use but untied it between dances. On his toy drum used ordinary drumsticks but on this used a drumstick in shape of cross—hitting with the *bars* as the drum hung in front of him. [Here follows a sketch of the drum showing it had an upper segment with a star on it.] The drum was about 20 inches across—made it himself—two ends of deerskin—the two hoops laced together like a snare drum. On the part of the drum where the *hanger* was—was a green star—and below it a cord was stretched across the head of the drum.

Gave only common dances. Said I wanted what they gave yesterday. They wouldn't do that except for *lots* of money—because they used sacred articles in it—offered 7.00 and promised 1.00 to Josephine—Said they would sing two songs for that.

Waited some time to begin.

Son of chief went upstairs—brought down a whitewashed pole about 4½ ft high set in a board about 8 inches sq.—half being painted blue and half white. This was nailed to the floor in such a way that the blue was to the south (pole was of course hewn). Around the top was painted a blue band about 2 in. wide & a few inches below was a band of red ribbon on which was fastened a five-pointed star—this star being toward the east—the ribbon had rather long notched ends. On top of the pole were downy feathers. [Here follows a sketch of the pole covering an entire page, with colors noted in pencil.]

Spruce called J. to him and said—"tell her we don't use this except at certain times—the pole belongs to God—when we dance around it we ask God to let us live."

Spruce's son put strings of bells on—tied below knee—also next man only a little smaller—had *strings* but no bells.

Spruce's son wore headdress of beaver fur—cap & *tail*, latter about to waist—had six small blue bows down back also gilt buttons & a little *red*—blue bows also around front.

Spruce called again, "Whenever we put pole up like that we make a present—something very nice." His son took small box and put next blue side of board. Then *drum* began again. Then men dancers walked once around pole—then (beginning where were on *white* side of board) they turned their *backs* to it & danced around it—when women joined circle walked face forward. Men danced in perfect rhythm but not always the *same* rhythm as the drum. No one *sang* but *Spruce*. First two very solemn & serious—other men laughed.

Drum usually played 3 | 1 3 | 1. Always two counts with accent on last. Dance (social) was in triple time. Part of ceremonial in ¾ time.

Further details are on next page.

The next entries in my notebook are on an entirely different subject. My diary contains only the following entries for August 24—"Dance at Vill. Start home 7 PM." The next day, August 25, has the entry—"Reached home at 4." The Booth Fish Company boat stopped at Grand Portage and we travelled on it to Duluth where we took a train to St. Paul and thence to our home in Red Wing.

The ceremony seen at the home of Minagunz was the subject of an article published in *The American Anthropologist* for June 1907. It follows the information in the notebook and contains some items that were retained in my memory. Among these are the following: Title, "An Ojibwa Prayer Ceremony."

Correction: Spruce was the medicine man; I do not think he was chief. About thirty Indians were at the ceremony in Minagunz's house. Minagunz wore a beaver head-dress. His eldest son "wore a head-dress of beaver-skin—a cap with a broad strip of the fur extending to his waist, decorated with little bows of blue ribbon, a few gilt buttons, and some bits of red braid. A string of bells was tied below his right knee. Most of the men wore a head-dress and band below the right knee, but none were so elaborate as those worn by Minagunz and his son." As I remember, we sat on chairs near Minegunz and the Indians sat on the floor along the edge of the room.

This dance was always followed by a feast; no one sang except Minagunz. The rhythm of the drum was the same in the social as well as in the cere-

monial dances. A Government employee, who had lived in the village many years and was on most friendly terms with the Indians, told me that he had been allowed to witness this prayer ceremony only once.

Minagunz had two wives and I photographed him with them. Minagunz was seated and his two wives were behind him, standing one behind the other at a respectful distance behind him. The wives were sisters and it was said that the family was contended and happy. In the picture Minagunz is holding the small drum that he used when treating the sick. These and numerous other photographs taken on this trip were given to the St. Louis Historical Society at Duluth, Minn., it is not remembered where other prints were placed but it is believed the negatives are at the above address.

Cash Account

The notebook contained a day-by-day cash account which is deleted. The following is on the last page of the book.

Ticket	18.75
Board	10.65
Room	1.50
Trips and fares	1.55
Half of baggage and tips	.80
	<hr/>
17 days	33.15
2.00 a day for necessities	
	<hr/>
Dolls	.80
Trip	39.45
Ind. at G. Port.	8.50
	<hr/>
	48.75

(The difference between 33.15 and 39.45 is not explained.)

PROFESSIONAL CAREER

ANNOTATED BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY REPORTS, 1907—1918

In the *29th Annual Report* (1907-1908) of the Bureau of American Ethnology, under "Special Researches," we find the first reference to the work of Frances Densmore to appear in these yearly summaries. The references continued as long as she was connected with the Bureau, ending with the obituary notice in the *74th Annual Report* of 1956-1957.

29th Annual Report (1907-1908)

During the year for the first time the study of native Indian music was seriously taken up by the Bureau. Miss Frances Densmore was commissioned to conduct certain investigations relating to the musical features of the Grand Medicine Ceremony of the Chippewa on the White Earth Reservation, Minnesota. The phonograph was employed in recording the songs, and after the close of the ceremony and visits to other Indian settlements, Miss Densmore was called to Washington where she reproduced her records and engaged successfully in recording songs of members of various Indian delegations visiting the capital. A preliminary report was submitted by Miss Densmore, with the understanding that it is not to be printed until additional researches have been made in the same and related fields. The collection of phonographic records thus far obtained is extensive, and the investigation promises results of exceptional interest and scientific value. (p. 19)

The following year we read of the completion of her first project.

30th Annual Report (1908-1909)

Miss Frances Densmore continued her researches relating to the music of the Chippewa, and a paper dealing with this subject was submitted for publication as *Bulletin 45*. A number of valuable phonographic records were obtained. (p. 21)

"Chippewa Music," *Bulletin 45*, appeared in 1910 and was followed by a second title in 1913, "Chippewa Music II," *Bulletin 53*, comprising the transcriptions and analyses of the largest collection of songs made by one person from one aboriginal group. A selection of these songs, made by the collector, appeared in the album *Songs of the Chippewa*, Library of Congress AAFS L 22, in 1950. Thirty examples were included.

31st Annual Report (1909-1910)

The principal new phase that has arisen in Miss Densmore's work is the importance of the rhythmic unit in Chippewa songs. Her observations indicate that the rhythmic phrase is the essential element of the song;

indeed Miss Densmore is inclined to think that the first idea of a song may be a mental rhythm assuming the form of a short unit, and that its expression follows the overtones of a fundamental which exists somewhere in the subconsciousness of the singer. . . . Melodic phrases are seldom recurrent. In the oldest songs the words are sung between repetitions of the rhythmic unit and have a slight rhythm and small melody progression. Rhythm varies less often than earlier words or melody in repetition, especially when the rhythm is confined to a definite unit. All these facts emphasize the importance of the rhythm, and also have a bearing on the problem of the development of primitive music, which it is designed to treat in a practical rather than in a theoretical way. . . . The independence of the voice and drum noted by Miss Densmore in previous studies was further shown by the data collected during the year; also the prominence of the descending interval of the minor third, and the marked use of overtones in the choice of melodic material. . . . It is Miss Densmore's desire, before leaving the Chippewa work, to analyze about 500 songs collected from a representative number of localities, as the data derived from systematic analyses of that number of songs should be a safe basis for what might be termed a scientific study of primitive song. (pp. 19-20)

32nd Annual Report (1910-1911)

After spending several weeks on the Lac du Flambeau Reservation in Wisconsin, [Miss Densmore] accompanied the Chippewa from that reservation to the Menominee Reservation in the same state, where the Lac du Flambeau Chippewa ceremonially presented two drums to the Menominee. This ceremony was closely observed, photographs being taken and the speeches of presentation translated. The songs of the ceremony were recorded by Miss Densmore on a phonograph after the return of the drum party to Lac du Flambeau. Many of the songs are of Sioux origin, as the ceremony was adopted from that people; consequently, the songs were analyzed separately from those of Chippewa origin. Numerous old war songs were recorded at Lac du Flambeau, also songs said to have been composed during dreams, and others used as accompaniments to games and dances. The analytical tables published during the year in *Bulletin 45* have been combined by Miss Densmore with those of songs collected during the year 1910-1911, making a total of 340 Chippewa songs under analysis. These are analyzed in 12 tables, showing the structure, tone material, melodic progression, and rhythm of the songs, the rhythm of the drum, and other points bearing on the development and form of primitive musical expression. . . . The Sioux songs of the drum-presentation ceremony similarly analyzed, constitute the beginning of an analytical study of the Sioux music, which will be continued and extended during the fiscal year, 1911-1912. (pp. 27-28)

33rd Annual Report (1911-1912)

Field work comprised one month with the Sioux on the Sisseton Reservation in South Dakota, and a few days on the White Earth Reservation in

Minnesota for the final revision of some descriptions and translation in her Chippewa manuscripts. The finished results submitted during the year comprised material on both Chippewa and Sioux music. Two papers on Chippewa studies were presented, one entitled "Further Analyses of Chippewa Songs," and the other, "Deductions from the Analysis of Chippewa Music." Her paper on "The Sun Dance of the Teton Sioux," including 33 songs, could be published in its present form, but it is deemed desirable to add a structural analysis of the songs similar to that accompanying the Chippewa material. . . . (pp. 30-31)

34th Annual Report (1912-1913)

. . . submitted three papers comprising 252 pages of manuscript, original phonographic records and musical transcriptions of 107 songs, and 23 original photographic illustrations. Three subjects have been exhaustively studied. . . the sacred stones, dreams about animals, and the buffalo hunt. The fourth subject referred to relates to the warpath and is represented by about 20 songs, but it awaits further study of the military societies. A special group of songs consists of those which have been composed and sung by the Sioux in honor of Miss Densmore. (pp. 21-22)

A memorandum from Frances Densmore to me in 1943 related to these "honor songs."

In 1911 when I was at Fort Yates, North Dakota, studying the Sun Dance ceremony, a very prominent chief, Red Fox, announced to an assembly of chiefs and leaders that he intended to adopt me as his daughter! This was not so unusual, because everybody was aware that Red Fox had the right to adopt someone in place of his daughter that had died some years before. The assembly approved his intention, although you can imagine what a surprise it was for me! The deceased daughter's name had been *Ptesan'non'pawin* (which means Two White Buffalo Woman), and this was the name I received from Red Fox. He explained to me that I need never hesitate to use it, wherever I might be. He had a right to give it to his daughter because he had twice been selected to kill a white buffalo when his tribe was hunting. This was an honor when so chosen because an albino animal was only occasionally seen in a herd. A thousand Indians gathered at Grand River, South Dakota, on the Fourth of July, 1912, when I was present, and my adoption was ratified by Red Fox's band. Songs were sung in my honor. Old praise songs and some new songs contained my name. You will find these songs transcribed in the Sioux book.

34th Annual Report (continued)

A study of the music of the Mandan and Hidatsa at Fort Berthold, North Dakota, was made by Miss Densmore in the summer of 1912, in cooperation with the Historical Society of the State of North Dakota. The results of this investigation consist of a manuscript of about 50 pages, with transcriptions of 40 songs. . . . (p. 22)

35th Annual Report (1913-1914)

In her studies...made two trips to the Standing Rock Reservation, South Dakota (one in July and August 1913, and one in June 1914) where she engaged in investigations at Bullhead, McLaughlin, and the vicinity of the Martin Kenel School. The research completed the field work for the proposed volume of Sioux music, the material...consists of 323 pages of manuscript, 98 musical transcriptions of songs, 20 technical analyses of songs, and 33 original illustrations....The practical use which musical composers are making of the results of Miss Densmore's studies is very gratifying. Mr. Carl Busch has adapted for orchestral purposes four of the songs rendered by Miss Densmore (and published by the Bureau) as follows: *Chippewa Vision*, *Farewell to the Warriors*, *Love Song*, *Lullaby*. Mr. Heinrich Hammer of Washington has composed a *Sun Dance Rhapsody* and a *Chippewa Rhapsody*. Mr. Charles Wakefield Cadman has composed, for voice, two of the Chippewa songs, *From the Long Room of the Sea*, and *Ho, Ye Warriors on the Warpath*. Mr. S. N. Penfield has harmonized two vocal quartets, *Manitou Listens to Me*, and *Why Should I be Jealous?* For the violin Mr. Alfred Manger has prepared a *Fantasie on Sioux Themes*, and Mr. Albert Bimboni has well advanced toward completion of an opera bearing the title *The Maiden's Leap* (See below). Certain of the orchestral arrangements have been played by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra as well as by the orchestras of Washington, Minneapolis and Kansas City. It is interesting to note the demand for Sioux themes in advance of their publication. These have been furnished in manuscript as far as possible to those desiring them for specific and legitimate use. Two of the compositions in the foregoing list are based on such themes....Work on the volume of Sioux music is approaching completion. This will be larger than any of the bulletins on Chippewa music, and while the same general plan has been followed, there will be much that is new, both in subject matter and in style of illustration. (pp. 27-28)

Here follows a memorandum from Frances Densmore, with some of the material taken from an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* December 26, 1927, concerning the opera *Winona* (The Maiden's Leap).

As an Italian, Bimboni naturally knew nothing about American Indians and their music, and I told him the method of my work—recording the songs phonographically and transcribing them for publication, etc. Only one of my books had at that time been published by the Bureau. The volume on Chippewa songs was sent to Mr. Bimboni. When I saw him some years later, I was greatly impressed by the evidence of his hard work upon it, and he was familiar with all its melodies. When the second book on Chippewa was published, he was supplied with a copy and also had permission to use material on the Sioux which was then awaiting publication. Upon it he put the same unsparing, concentrated study. Back and forth the letters went, he asking further questions, and I doing my best to give him the results of my personal work among the Indians....

The songs of Indians, when transcribed in musical notation, necessarily lose much of their primitive character and that must be supplied by a composer's imagination. He must create what lies back of the songs in the heart of the Indian . . . an effect that is more subtle than the notes of the orchestral or vocal score. Bimboni had the imagination and the technical ability for dramatic presentation, and wanted to "think himself into" the psychology of the Indian, a difficult task for one who spent his youth in sunny Italy, with its classic traditions. But Bimboni is an enthusiastic American as well as an artist, and he had an ambition to contribute his talents to the country that has taken him to itself. How well he succeeded is shown by the success of *Winona* at Portland. (Produced in 1926, with libretto by Perry Williams) . . . The opera of *Winona* is not a hastily constructed piece of writing . . . and Bimboni has allowed the score plenty of time to "season" and mature, thus able to lay it aside and take it up with fresh enthusiasm and new inspiration. (He stated that the work required twelve years). While many themes from my books have been used by Bimboni in his opera, as well as my collected unpublished songs, he has not confined himself to adaptations of melodies. It has been his aim to saturate himself with the songs of many tribes of Indians and to assimilate their attitude toward music and toward life so that he can compose with an Indian atmosphere. This is higher art than harmonizing melodies. Bimboni's patience and devotion to his ideal commands our highest admiration, and its patriotic aspect should not be overlooked.

36th Annual Report (1914-1915)

Excellent progress has been made . . . the principal work in this direction has been completion of the manuscript of *Teton Sioux Music*, consisting of 1,067 pages, in addition to transcriptions of 240 songs and about 100 illustrations. This material was submitted in June for publication. Miss Densmore also made considerable progress in the preparation of a paper on the music of the Ute Indians, 92 pages of manuscript, 28 transcriptions of songs, 11 analyses of songs, and 8 original photographic illustrations submitted. The work is not yet finished. (p. 27)

The following letter written to her sister, Margaret Densmore, from Whiterocks, Utah, describes the difficulties of work among the Ute and her meeting with Red Cap, the Ute Chief. The letter, postmarked July 16, 1914, was written on her first visit to that tribe.

While it is fresh in my mind, I want to tell you of the quite remarkable experience I had this morning—one which does not fall to the lot of many, even in such work as mine. First I would say that the White River band are the un-manageable section of the tribe. The present chief, Red Cap, is the one who led these Indians on their expedition into Dakota, for which the troops were called out. He is still a very difficult man for the Gov't to handle, flatly refusing to sign papers, and being generally stubborn.

I have been told for two days that there was trouble being made by the White River people—that they did not approve of my being here. Once in a while a man with black braids and big silver earrings would come in

where we were working, make an angry speech and stalk out again. This morning he came in while a rather young member of the White River band was singing, and made so angry a speech that the singer was quite "squelched." I made up my mind that things had gone far enough. I said, "I want this to stop. I have a letter from the Commissioner—the agent approves the work, the Indians are being paid promptly and treated right—anybody can come in or look in, there is nothing secret or unfair about this business and nobody has any kick on it!" Then I got out my letter from the Commissioner and told Mart to translate it near the window so "Tim Johnson," the distributor, could go over there and hear it if he wanted to. But Tim sat on the grass and wouldn't budge. I changed my tactics. I said, "I was thinking this morning that I ought to go and call on Red Cap, the chief. I have been too busy so far but I want to have a talk with him." By this time I saw the corner of Tim's hat appearing around the window sill. Someone said Red Cap was over at the store. I sent someone after him and said I wanted him to come over. The message came back that he was coming. I then put a large chair with arms opposite the door—in the place of honor, and told Mart to go to the step and meet him. I received him with some ceremony and "sat him down." Then I apologized for not coming to see him as I had been so busy getting started. I dwelt at some length on the fact of my adoption, saying that Red Fox said I would be treated as the daughter of a chief wherever I went, if I told the Ind. of my adoption. Then I said that I was not only "some person" among the Ind. but also at Wash.—so much so that the Commissioner gave me a letter to all the Utes, which I would show him. Then the letter was translated for him. Then I said it was natural that a chief should first ask what I had already accomplished, then I showed him the Chippewa books. I said that if the Utes wanted a book like that printed about their tribe, now was their chance.—that I had simply come to look the ground over, and see what the prospects were. Then I said I had done and would wait for him to reply.

I don't remember the exact course of the matter for a while. There were, I think, eight big fellows in the room and more than a dozen outside the windows. After a time I remember he wanted to hear some records I had made, and later I waved my hand and asked which of the men present he wished to have sing to show him how it went. He delegated his sub-chief, who had been consulting a good deal with him. I asked him to make a speech himself but he said he was not ready. A little later he got up, came over and sat down before the phon. and said he wished to make a speech to be sent to the Commissioner. I recorded a whole cylinder-ful. Before we broke up I had actually recorded from the one who started the disturbance. By the way, I took the precaution to have the Comm's letter translated by a young man who was not being paid by me—an on-looker.

In the speech for the Commissioner, Red Cap expressed much anxiety lest their giving me songs would lead to their being forbidden to sing them. They are very suspicious of the Indian Office. I have had a careful translation of the speech and shall mail it to the Comm.

The Ind. are exceedingly interested in looking at my Chip. books, and turn the pages over and over, tho they cannot read a word.

Friday

Today I saw an old hostile face at the window and as there was only one man inside, I asked that man to come in and hear the songs. I went to the door and shook hands with him, showing him to a chair. I did not remember him, but thought he looked like a hard proposition whom I would rather have for me than against. When he came in, the interpreter said, "He's the one who made the trouble the first day. I guess we're getting them *all*." The old man sat around a while, and sometimes would put in a word. He announced that he would sing for 50 cents a song but 25 was too little. I went over the ground carefully with him, and finally we decided that it ought not to make hard feeling if I paid more for his songs as they were really so *much* older than those the young men sang. Finally I said that the sub-chief was present, and if there was any trouble I should refer it to him, and he said that was all right. So this old disturber sang four of the fiercest kind of war songs, for which I paid him 2.00. He is coming back this afternoon to tell me about the Sun Dance. These Indians gave one [a Sun Dance] recently in direct defiance of the Agent and the Commissioner. There was such a fuss that the Attorney General instructed the District Attorney to send a U.S. Marshall to stop it. They're a wild lot, I tell you!!

Other details concerning this incident are found in *Incidents in the Study of Ute Music*, page 49.

37th Annual Report (1915-1916)

...field trip during the summer of 1915...comprised visits to three reservations and occupied two and a half months. Most of the time was spent among the Mandan and Hidatsa, at Fort Berthold, North Dakota, and during part of her sojourn Miss Densmore camped near what is recognized as the last Mandan settlement, where she was enabled to record many interesting data that could not have been obtained in any other way. The Indians felt more free to sing there than at the agency, and Miss Densmore had an opportunity to observe and photograph native customs, notably those of tanning a hide and preparing corn. The study of music on the Fort Berthold Reservation included that pertaining to the ceremony connected with eagle catching. An old eagle trap was visited and photographed, and the songs of the leader in the eagle camp were recorded by the only Mandan who had the hereditary right to sing them. The songs of the Goose Women Society and the [unidentified] Women Society were also sung by those who inherited them and were recorded. . . . Among these are the ceremonial songs sung by the "corn priest" in the spring to fructify the seed corn. Songs of war and of the various men's societies were also recorded. The total number of songs from this reservation now transcribed exceed 100. . . . A new phase of the work was that of ascertaining the pitch discrimination of the Indians by means of tuning forks. This was begun at Fort Berthold and continued for comparative purposes at the Standing Rock and the White Earth Reservations. Data from four tribes are now available on this subject of research. . . . Important additions were made (to the *Teton Sioux Music* book) in the form of graphic representations,

original plots of 240 songs and 18 diagrams having been made to exhibit the results obtained through mathematical analyses. Of these graphic representations 63 will appear in the bulletin. 150 pages of manuscripts were submitted during the year in addition to the descriptive analyses of the songs. (pp. 21-22)

38th Annual Report (1916-1917)

A second season of field work was devoted to the Ute Indians, sufficient data being obtained to complete a work on the music of that tribe. Of this material 73 new songs were transcribed and analyzed, 23 songs previously recorded were likewise analyzed, and 5 songs also previously submitted with analyses were further studied. . . . All except about 15 Ute records are now ready for publication; these cover a considerable variety of songs, analyses of which show important differences from songs of other tribes, one peculiarity being an added importance of rhythm. . . .

For purposes of comparison, Miss Densmore undertook on her own account a study of primitive Slovak music, 10 songs of which were analyzed by the method employed in connection with Indian songs, and those were found to contain interesting points of interest. (See pp. 55-56, *Northern Ute Music*.)

Through the courtesy of Dr. Dayton C. Miller, of the Case School of Applied Science in Cleveland, Miss Densmore procured graphic evidence of peculiarities of drum and voice combination noted by ear in Indian music. Dr. Miller made two photographs, about 30 feet in length, each representing about 15 seconds duration of sound. It is the intention to use part of these as illustrations in the forthcoming bulletin on Ute music, the songs photographed being Ute dance songs with strong rhythmic peculiarities.

Early in June, Miss Densmore proceeded to the White Earth Reservation, Minnesota, for the purpose of conducting a study of the material culture of the Chippewa Indians, and at the close of the year good progress was reported. (pp. 15-16)

39th Annual Report (1917-1918)

...a report on the Ute music, consisting of about 375 pages...submitted.... Her account of the Mandan and Hidatsa songs contains 400 pages. A new feature has been introduced in the study of Ute melodies, where she has devised diagrams consisting of curves on a background of coordinate lines.... Miss Densmore's main studies have been on ethnobotany of the Chippewa and include plants used in treatment of the sick and other subjects. The general economic life and the industries of the people were also studied and an extensive collection made, which she has photographed for use in her publications. She has likewise adopted the method of tone photographs designed by Dr. Dayton C. Miller of the Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland. (p. 23)

INCIDENTS IN THE STUDY OF UTE MUSIC

A more detailed account of Miss Densmore's experience and field work among the Ute follows. Some of this information is given in the Bureau's *Bulletin* 75, and a letter to Margaret Densmore appears previously, page 45-47. The following is a personal memoir, a copy of which was sent to me when it was typed and sent to the Bureau Archives. It was written the following year (1917) after Miss Densmore had recovered from a serious illness in Washington.

My work among the Utes was unique, not only in its difficulties but in certain phases of its results. This work was done among members of the Uinta and White River bands of Northern Utes, living on the Uinta and Ouray Reservation in northeastern Utah.

My first visit to these Indians was in 1914, and the work was done at Whiterocks; a second trip was made in 1916 when the work was done chiefly at Fort Duchesne where the U.S. Indian Agency is located. Fort Duchesne was reached by a narrow-gauge railroad from Mack, Colo., to Watson, Utah, followed by 25 miles by stage, and the travel thence to Whiterocks, a distance of 20 miles, was with the man who carried the mail to the Government boarding school.

The altitude at Whiterocks was ten thousand feet and I came from a long winter in Washington, with only a month at home on the way. This was my first experience in a high altitude, and the missionary aided me by letting me sleep in a tent close to the irrigating ditch where the damp air was easier for me to breath. A second difficulty was the suspicion and opposition of the Indians, yet I obtained records of 114 songs. The number of singers was 20, and the songs were of somewhat an unusual variety of classes, comprising 16 groups. The largest group was that of the Bear Dance which comprised 17 songs. The war songs numbered 16, and songs for the sick, 15 in number, were recorded by a "medicine man" and woman who were using them at the time. Eight singers recorded only two songs each, and two singers recorded only one song, this being an unusual number of singers returning so few songs. It was ten years since Red Cap led the memorable expedition to the east, and he was still living and influential among his people.

Not all Indian tribes have the same disposition and before I went to the Utes I was warned that they were "touchy" by nature. Events proved this to be correct. From the day of my arrival the Utes did not like the idea of my work. I had a pleasant cottage for an office, far enough from neighbors so the singing could not be overheard, and on a street conveniently near the trader's store. I set up the phonograph in the front room, secured a good interpreter and hoped for singers. Many Indians came out of curiosity, looked in the windows, sat around the room and *laughed*. In vain I explained, through the interpreter, that I had been with many tribes who were glad to record their songs. I told of the building in Washington that would not burn down, where their voices would be preserved forever, but still they only looked at each other and laughed. Red Cap, the famous chief who led them on their trek to the east, was still living, and it was not many years since soldiers of the U.S. Army had patrolled the streets of the

village. It was absurd to think that a white woman would pay money to record their songs, for the government to keep forever in that building that would not burn down!

At last, having explained my work to the Indians in the room and to those looking in the windows, and saying that I paid cash for every song, I laid a quarter on the phonograph, started the recorder and went into the hall, saying that whoever recorded a song could pick up the quarter. I also promised to play the record for everyone to hear. From the front hall I listened anxiously but heard only the faint snickers to which I was accustomed. At last—a song! Returning in time to stop the phonograph I found that the song has been recorded by my faithful interpreter who took the quarter in addition to his regular pay. But he had saved my dignity. I played the song which was listened to politely, but it was evident that the Utes still did not intend to sing into that horn.

I decided to play my highest trump card so I said, "I have not told you people before but I am the adopted daughter of Red Fox, a Sioux chief. My father would have wanted me to call on your chief, Red Cap. He lives so far away that I have not been able to call on him but I would have told him that I am the adopted daughter of a leading chief in a great tribe. My father would not like the way that your men are treating me."

Someone said, "Red Cap is sitting on the steps at the trader's store now." I said to the interpreter, "Go and tell Red Cap what I have said and ask him to come over here. I want to talk with him."

This was taking a long chance but I trusted, in part, to the curiosity of an Indian. It also happened that I had seen Red Cap and his face wore the smile that I do not like to see on the face of an Indian. It was an anxious moment.

While the interpreter went to the store, I took the best chair in the room and put it in the place of honor opposite the door. On the wall above it I put a little American flag that I always carried with me. Then I waited for Red Cap—so did the Indians around the room and those on the grass outside the door.

It was a dramatic moment when Red Cap entered the room, escorted by the interpreter. I waved him to the place of honor and began the usual formal speech to a chief, playing largely on the fact that I was known far and wide as the adopted daughter of Red Fox, the Sioux chief. Patiently I explained through the interpreter that I was collecting the songs of the Indians for the benefit of their children and that their voices would be preserved in Washington in a great building that would not burn down. Red Cap responded at the right times, saying "*hau, hau,*" and then I went into the subject of the moment. I said, "My father would not like the way that your men are treating me. They laugh and will not sing into the phonograph horn, though I am ready to pay money for every song." Looking toward the window I saw the edge of a wide felt hat rise slowly above the sill and soon an Indian's face appeared, like a full moon over the horizon.

Red Cap crossed his knees and said, through the interpreter, that he did not sing himself but would tell his best singer to record songs for me—as

many as I wanted. The best singer proved worthy of the recommendation and Red Cap listened while the songs were being recorded and the records played. He even suggested some songs. But Red Cap was planning his own *coup*. The diplomacy was not all on one side.

After the recording was finished, Red Cap said, "I have done as you wished. Now I want to ask a favor. I do not sing, as I said, but I would like to talk into your phonograph. Will it record talking?" Guilelessly I said it would record any sound.

"Well," said the wily old chief, "Then I will talk and I want you to play the record for the Indian Commissioner in Washington. I want to tell him that we do not like this Agent. We want him sent somewhere else. We don't like the things he does. What we tell him does not get to the Commissioner but I want the Commissioner to hear my voice. I want you to play this so he will hear my words, and I want you to give him a good translation of my speech. We want to get rid of this Agent." (The Superintendent of an Indian Reservation was formerly called an Agent.)

Red Cap had done me a favor. Not only had he secured a singer and helped select the songs but he had let me take his picture in several poses, always with the same smile on his face. Gallantly I seated him in front of the phonograph horn, showing him how to put one foot on each side of the crane and speak directly into the horn, saying, "Don't move nor talk too loud and the sound will be just like your voice." Then I put down the recorder and Red Cap began his speech.

The record was an entire success—every Ute word was clear and Red Cap listened, sitting beneath the little American flag with money in his pocket to spend at the trader's. So the episode ended. Red Cap took care to ask how long I intended to stay and said that I would have no trouble in securing singers, which was true.

About six months later I kept my promise to Red Cap and played the record for the Commissioner, explaining that I had absolutely no responsibility in the matter. He was accustomed to the ways of Indians and I had kept my promise to an Indian singer.

A second diplomatic moment on the Ute reservation came later and I had to meet it alone. I had told Red Cap that I intended to stay three weeks longer. The Indians had heard it and I knew they would remember it, so I planned my time carefully, hoping to finish within that limit. They were not very happy about singing but I secured excellent songs, including songs of the Sun Dance, and I visited the place where that dance had been held against the orders of the government a few weeks previously. A young "medicine man" sang the songs that he used in treating the sick, first looking up and down the street to be sure that no one would hear him. He said that his songs were received from "a little green man who lives in the mountains. He shoots arrows into people and they have pain. Then he tells me, and the people pay me to suck out the arrows, I show them the arrows that make the pain—red and sharp." Songs of the Bear Dance were recorded, as stated. In this dance the singers rest the ends of "scraping sticks" on sheets of zinc placed over a trench in the ground. The singers sit around the sheets of zinc. The trench was said to be "connected with the

bear" and the sound of the many notched sticks, sharply rubbed with shorter sticks, was said to be "like the sound made by the bear."

My schedule was changed by a horseback trip up the Bridger Trail and a day or two after the day originally set for my departure I heard a knock at the door. I was alone and the screen door was hooked. At the door stood one of the most disturbing Indians. He did not smile. Instead he said, "Why aren't you gone? You said you would go at a certain time and you are still here. We don't like it. How much longer are you going to stay and what are you doing here anyway?"

This was no time to play up the idea of being a chief's daughter. It was a case for hard logic. I said, "I am not doing anything but getting songs, as I told you. The work takes just as long as I told you. But I went up the mountain with a camping party that you know all about. That took over a Sunday—about four days in all. So I have to stay that much longer. I am packing up and will be gone at the end of that time. You can tell that to the other Indians."

He was not fully satisfied and went away grumbling. I did not blame the Indians for being suspicious. It did not seem reasonable that anyone would pay money for songs when the government did not want them to hold gatherings and sing. He thought that probably I was going to make a fortune—that the poor Indian was being cheated again.

It was with a feeling of relief that I saw my heavy boxes loaded into a wagon and starting on their long journey to Washington. The difficulties had been overcome and the work had yielded good results. But two years afterward, in 1916, I went back to collect more Ute songs. That time I centered the work at Fort Duchesne, and made a trip to Ouray. One evening, at the agency, I met the doctor by chance. He had just returned from his vacation and, as he knew of my previous work, he asked how I was getting on. I replied that the work was going well but I had to remember to *breathe*. If I did not keep my mind on it, I often stopped breathing for a long time, but I had made a hard trip to Ouray, and wanted to go in another direction to get a certain flute from a man who was said to have one.

The doctor said, "You will go at once to the hospital. I will have the nurse watch you all night, and tomorrow morning you will take the stage to Salt Lake City with a letter from me to a doctor there."

"But I must pack my equipment and my trunk," I replied. "Never mind them," the doctor said, "someone from the agency will pack your things and send them by express."

Thus ended, without warning, my study of the music of the Ute. I went to Salt Lake City the next day, and in due time was able to return to Washington, but I wish that I might have secured that flute and recorded additional songs of this interesting tribe.

ANNOTATED BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY REPORTS, 1918-1925

40th Annual Report (1918-1919)

The Bureau purchased...papers on *Chippewa Remedies and General Customs* and *Chippewa Art*. The latter article has 164 pages, with 42 pages of

old Chippewa designs and numerous photographs pertaining to industries, medicinal plants, customs, toys of children, games, processes of weaving, tanning, and other industries. The lists of plants were identified by Mr. Paul C. Stanley. . . . Miss Densmore likewise submitted much new manuscript material on the music of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Pawnee. With this addition, her account of the Mandan-Hidatsa music contains 340 pages, more than 40 illustrations, and 2 new forms of graphic representation of their progression. . . . An important field of aboriginal music thus far not sufficiently investigated is among the Pawnee. While engaged in the study of the music of this tribe at Pawnee, Oklahoma, Miss Densmore witnessed a hand game, the Buffalo, Lance, and two Victory dances, and later recorded on the phonograph the numerous songs sung at the three first gatherings. This material, with musical transcriptions tabulated and descriptive analyses, has been purchased by the Bureau. *Teton Sioux Music* is published as *Bulletin 61* (pp. 14-15)

41st Annual Report (1919-1924)

. . . resumed work on the Pawnee songs on September 1, 1919. Transcriptions and analyses of 58 Pawnee songs have been submitted during the year. These comprise songs of the Morning Star Ceremony, and of the Buffalo Dance, the Bear Dance, and the Lance Dance. . . . In April 1920 she visited the Pawnees a second time and was permitted to enter the lodge during the Morning Star Ceremony and to see the contents of the "sacred bundle." This bundle is opened once a year. (It is said that only one other white person has been permitted to enter the ceremonial lodge.) This ceremony afforded an opportunity to hear certain interesting rituals which are sung only at this time. . . . Three manuscripts on Pawnee music have been submitted during the year. In addition to the ceremonial material. . . these papers contain songs of war and of a game, as well as miscellaneous songs and those connected with folk tales. The Pawnees were selected as representative of the Caddoan stock, according to the plan of comparing the songs of the various linguistic stocks.

About the middle of February 1920. . . began a study of the Papago Indians as a representative of the Piman stock. For more than a month she lived at San Xavier Mission, a Government station, among the Papago near Tucson, Arizona, and recorded more than 100 songs, 25 of which have been transcribed and analyzed and submitted. Three subjects were studied—treatment of the sick, customs of war, and ancient stories. As examples of the psychology revealed by musical investigation, it may be noted that the Papago state that all sickness has its origin in the anger of a mythical "Creator," and that many of the songs used in treating the sick are said to have been received from spirits of the dead. [See description and commentary from the collection of songs of Owl Woman in "Papago Music," *Bulletin 90*.]

Miss Densmore considers the chief points of the year's investigation to be the evident contrasts of songs of different linguistic stocks and the increasing evidence that rhythm in Indian song is more varied and important

than melody. It is interesting to note that the songs recorded by an individual doctor showed similarity in melodic material and formation, but a wide variety in rhythm. The poetry of the words of Papago songs is of an unusually high order. [For examples see *Healing Songs of the American Indians*, edited by Charles Hofmann, Folkways album FE 4251.]

In April 1920... visited the "Mohave" Apaches living at Camp MacDowell, near Phoenix, Arizona, with a view to recording songs among them next season, taking the Apache as the representative of the Athapascan stock.

In July 1919... visited the Manitou Rapids Reserve in Canada to obtain data on the customs of the Canadian Chippewas for comparison with the tribe in the states. She found an interesting contrast in bead patterns and collected considerable information on their general culture.

...August 14-30, 1919... worked on the botanical section of the book on Chippewa arts and customs, this section comprising the use of plants as foods, medicine, and charms. (pp. 12-15)

42nd Annual Report (1924-1925)

The following manuscripts of Indian music have been purchased during the fiscal year... *War, Wedding and Social Songs of the Makah Indians; Songs Connected with the Makah Feasts and Dances; Music and Customs of the Tule Indians of Panama; Songs and Instrumental Music of the Tule Indians of Panama; Songs for Children and Material Culture of the Makah Indians*, and 17 mathematical group analyses of 167 Papago songs, according to the method of such analyses in previous work. This material (apart from the group analyses) comprises 150 pages of text, numerous photographic illustrations and the transcriptions of 69 songs, together with the original phonograph records and descriptive and tabulated analyses of individual songs. The last named are the analyses from which the mathematical analyses are made, these showing the peculiarities of the songs of an entire tribe with results expressed in percentages. These in turn form the basis of comparative tables, which show the characteristics of the music of different tribes. Such tables of comparison in *Mandan and Hidatsa Music* comprise 820 songs collected among six tribes, and material awaiting publication will add more than 500 songs to this number, including songs of widely separated tribes. It seems possible that these tables may show a connection between the physical environment of the Indians and the form assumed by their songs, as interesting contrasts appear in the songs of different tribes.

The final paper on the Makah Indians included a description of the uses of 26 plants in food, medicine and dye. Specimens of the plants had been obtained on the reservation, and their botanical identification was made by Mr. Paul C. Standley of the United States National Museum. The Makah were head-hunters and a detailed account of their war customs was presented. The caste system prevailed in former days and families of the upper class had wealth and leisure. The wedding customs were marked by festivity and by physical contests, the songs of which were submitted....

The presence in Washington of a group of Tule Indians from the Province of Colón, Panama, made possible a study of forms of primitive music which, it is believed, have not hitherto been described. The Tule Indians are unique in that they do not pound a drum, or a pole, or any other object. Their favorite instrument is the "pan pipe" of reeds. Two men usually play these pipes sounding alternative tones. The music of these pan pipes was phonographically recorded and transcribed as nearly as possible in musical notation. An instrument which, as far as is known, has not been previously observed, is a reed flute having two finger holes but no "whistle opening." The upper end of the reed is held inside the mouth, possibly touching the roof of the mouth, and for this reason is designated as a "mouth flute." A gourd rattle, conch shell horn, and bone whistle complete the musical instruments of these Indians. . . . The words of the songs narrate a series of events, such as the preparation for a wedding, and a description of the festivity, or the illness and death of a man, followed by "talking to his spirit." Chief Igwa Nigide'bippi, who recorded the songs, was a trained singer. (pp. 15-16)

INCIDENTS IN THE STUDY OF INDIAN MUSIC
AT NEAH BAY, WASHINGTON,
AND NEAR CHILLWACK, BRITISH COLUMBIA

The following personal memoir was sent to me and to the Archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology from Miss Densmore.

Two trips were made to Neah Bay, Washington, the first in 1923, the second in 1926, and on both trips I had the companionship of my sister, Margaret Densmore. This village is located on the Strait of Juan de Fuca, near Cape Flattery. It is entirely surrounded by mountains and in 1923 it was reached only by water. A small boat went from Seattle to Neah Bay once a week and carried passengers as an accommodation. I engaged passage on this boat, the *Utopia*, for my sister and myself. On arrival I was told that the *Utopia* had been cut in two and only the front end went to Neah Bay, but space had been reserved for us and the trip of 87 miles was made in less than 24 hours. We reached Neah Bay when the tide was low and the *Utopia's* deck was far below the level of the dock, so that our first impression of the inhabitants of the village was seeing their feet almost over our heads.

The village consists of a long row of houses facing the water with a narrow board walk between them and the beach. The principal tribe of Indians at this village is the Makah, and I soon began my work of recording their songs. Unfortunately my sister became very ill, with danger of pneumonia. There was no doctor in the village and it was said that, if her condition did not improve, someone would go to the Weather Station at Bahada Point, a few miles distant, where they would broadcast her symptoms, in the hope that a doctor on some ship at sea or in some coastal town

would hear them and give advice. Fortunately her condition gradually improved, I completed my work, and we left for Seattle on the *Utopia*, two weeks after our arrival.

On our second trip, in 1926, we found that conditions were more favorable. A road for automobiles had been made across the mountains so that the village was not wholly isolated and a doctor had replaced the former Indian Agent. The Indians welcomed us, the little schoolhouse was available for recording songs and I had an excellent interpreter. We remained a month and the total number of songs recorded on the two trips was 210, recorded by seventeen singers.

These Indians formerly hunted the whale and seal, and I obtained valuable songs connected with that industry. They were also head-hunters and we attended a gathering of Indians at a place where, on the smooth sand, the warriors used to dry the heads of their enemies before placing them on poles to carry in the victory dance. A song was recorded that was sung when carrying the heads of enemies in this manner, the words referring to the heads. Another recorded song was said to be sung when a man's head was cut off. Such songs will soon disappear but are part of the old life in that remote region.

At the gathering mentioned, the songs were accompanied by pounding on long planks raised a few inches above the ground. The planks were arranged on three sides of a square, the singers sitting on the sand and pounding the planks with short sticks.

These Indians are dramatic by nature and in the old days they gave representations of many birds and animals. Even the whale was dramatized. I recorded old songs that were sung with representations of the wild white gees, the deer, a little fish, a raven, and the wolves.

A remarkable opportunity to see the old dances took place at the celebration of Makah Day, August 26, 1926. Among other dances I saw the dance of the male elk, in which the dancer carried antlers and moved them in a certain manner. It was said, "The elk dancer walks as the human being did before it was changed into an elk." Another interesting dance was seen on the beach in the evenings; the dancer moving in and out of the waves, with many gestures.

Among the songs was one that a whale was heard singing, and another that the seal sang together, in the seal hunter's dream.

An unusual number of songs were sung to little children or in legends told to children, these being eighteen in number. These Indians had slaves in the old days and one of the children's songs is about a little slave man.

After a month with the interesting people at Neah Bay, my sister and I went to Vancouver to prepare for recording in British Columbia. I had the proper credentials from Ottawa and received courteous assistance from the Indian agent at New Westminster. At the latter town it was decided that we would go to Chilliwack and record songs in the hop-picking camp a few miles distant from that town. Our daily escort between Chilliwack and the camp was Walter Withers, corporal (later sergeant), Royal Canadian Mounted Police, who took us back and forth in his car, and assisted the work in many ways. Courtesies were also extended by others, including the

executive office of the Columbia Hop Co., in whose camp the work was conducted.

About a thousand Indians were employed in picking hops, and they came from widely separated localities, including the regions of the Nass and Skeena Rivers in the far north. Several were from Vancouver Island, including two young men who had been at Neah Bay and were acquainted with my work. This was of assistance among these Indians.

The phonograph was placed in a "shack" used for Red Cross supplies, and part of the recording was of necessity done in the evening as the singers were employed during the day. A total of 121 songs were recorded by Indians from 16 localities. Two medicine men recorded the songs they were using in treating the sick and described their use. A portion of the war songs were recorded by the Nitinat who cut off the heads of the enemies, and two songs were recorded that were sung when the heads of the enemy were carried on poles in the victory dance. These songs are still sung by the Nitinat in their dances. Among the old songs was one attributed to a seal. It was said that a man "Saw a seal swimming and heard it sing this song."

A favorite game in all tribes of Indians consists in guessing the location of marked objects, concealed in the players' hands. In the Northwest this is known as the *slahal* game, and it was played every Sunday afternoon at the hop camp. Occasionally it was played in the evening during the week and one occasion is remembered when the scene was especially picturesque. The light of a huge bonfire shone on the rows of swaying, singing men, and a hundred or more men and women stood behind the players or were grouped in the vicinity. The moon was full, shining on the snow on the mountain tops which, at this point, are on the boundary between the United States and Canada. Nearer were the square lines of the long rows of cabins in which the Indians lived. It was a scene long to be remembered.

ANNOTATED BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY REPORTS, 1925-1946

43rd Annual Report (1925-1926)

The research in Indian music by Miss Frances Densmore during the fiscal year has been marked by the collecting and developing of extensive material among the Menominee of Wisconsin, and the completion of the book on Papago music which is now ready for publication. . . . The titles of manuscripts furnished to the Bureau. . . are as follows: *Songs Connected with Ceremonial Games and Adoption Dances of the Menominee Indians*; *Menominee Songs Connected with Hunting Bundles, War Bundles, and the Moccasin Game*; *Menominee Songs Connected with a Boy's Fast*, also *Dream Songs, Love Songs, and Flute Melodies*; *Dream Dance Songs of the Menominee Indians*; *Songs Used in the Treatment of the Sick*; and *Menominee War Songs and Other Songs*.

The Menominee Indians have been in contact with civilization for many years, but retain their old customs to a remarkable degree. Miss Densmore attended a meeting of their medicine lodge (corresponding to the Chippewa grand medicine), at which two persons were initiated. She witnessed the ceremony for about four hours, listening to the songs, and presenting tobacco, which was received in a ceremonial manner. She was also present at a gathering where a lacrosse game was played "in fulfillment of a dream," and witnessed the similar playing of a "dice and bowl" game by a woman who had dreamed of the "four spirit women in the east" and been instructed by them to play the game once each year. . . . The songs of the dream dance received considerable consideration, the dance having been witnessed in 1910. . . . Among the interesting war songs were those connected with the enlistment and service of Menominee in the Civil War, with songs of the charms ("fetiches") by which they believed that they were protected. Songs of the warfare against Black Hawk were obtained and one very old war song with the words "The Queen [of England] wants us to fight against her enemies." (pp. 10-11)

44th Annual Report (1926-1927)

The research in Indian music was conducted in a wider field during the past year than in any year preceding. In July, 1926, Miss Frances Densmore. . . returned to Neah Bay, Washington, to continue her study of the music of the Makah and of Indians from Vancouver Island who have married members of the Makah tribe. More than 140 songs were recorded, including a group of old songs obtained from a woman of the Quileute tribe, a particularly isolated tribe living south of Makah.

An exceptional opportunity for the study of Indian music was afforded by the celebration of "Makah Day" on August 26 and by the rehearsals preceding this annual festivity. The program depicted the arrival of a visiting tribe and the entertainment which in the old days would have taken place on such an occasion. The Indians who took the part of visitors arrived in a gaily decorated boat and were formally welcomed and escorted to the place of entertainment, where dances were given by expert Makah dancers. Several of these dances were dramatic presentations of tribal traditions. For example, it was the old belief of the Makah that many sorts of animals, birds, trees, rocks were once human beings, and one of the most important dances was an impersonation of human beings who were the ancestors of the elk.

The songs recorded at Neah Bay included the songs of the Makah Day dances, rendered by the leading singers, and songs of the "impersonation dances" that formed part of the Klokali ceremony. In these dances they formerly impersonated the wolf, deer, and wild white geese. An interesting group of Clayoquot songs was addressed to the sea when the breakers were high and it was said "the sea always seemed to become calm soon after these songs were sung." A phrase of music hitherto unstudied in detail was the old composed song, distinct from the song received in a dream. It appears from data collected in two localities that physical motion was considered an aid

to musical composition, some musicians composing while sitting in a swing, others while walking, and others (on the coast of British Columbia) while riding in a motor boat.

After five weeks at Neah Bay, Miss Densmore went to Chilliwack, British Columbia, where Indians from a wide territory are annually employed as pickers in the hop fields. An effort was made to obtain songs of all important classes, from Indians as widely separated as possible. More than 125 songs were recorded, among the localities represented being the Nass, Skeena, Thompson, and Fraser Rivers, Port Simpson, the west coast of British Columbia and the southwest coast of Vancouver Island. The singers came from a region extending about 400 miles north and south and about 150 miles east and west. Two aged medicine men recorded songs which they use at the present time in treating the sick, and numerous healing songs were recorded by other Indians. One was for the cure of smallpox; in another the doctor addressed the seal, grizzly bear, and deer, asking their help, while the next song contained their favorable response. The medicine men appreciated the value of the work and recorded their songs without reluctance.

Mention should be made of the *slahal* game played often at the hop camp by a large number of Indians, with crowds of Indian spectators. The songs and method of playing the game were recorded, the players were photographed during a game, and the bone game implements were loaned for photographic purposes.

Seven manuscripts on the foregoing field work were submitted to the Bureau . . . and a paper was also submitted titled, "A Comparison Between Pawnee Songs and Those Previously Analyzed," with 18 tables of analysis. The number of manuscript pages was 178 and the number of transcribed songs 124. . . . In British Columbia, as in the United States, opportunity for the study of genuine Indian music is rapidly passing, though there still remain old people who can sing the ancient songs. (pp. 10-13)

45th Annual Report (1927-1928)

In October, 1927, Miss Densmore visited the Winnebago in Wisconsin, recording songs and interviewing many Indians within a radius of about 20 miles around Black River Falls. Eighty-three songs were recorded, with data concerning their origin and use, and the singers and their environment were photographed. The winter feast (also known as the war-bundle feast) and the buffalo dance received special consideration, as these are distinctively Winnebago ceremonies. Twenty-five winter feast songs were recorded, including those of the night spirit, morning star, sun, bear, and thunderbird bundles. The songs were recorded and information given by men who habitually attend this feast, given annually in Wisconsin and Nebraska. The use of music in the treatment of the sick was found to be similar to that of the Chippewa and, in some respects, to that of other tribes. The principal informant on this subject was John Henry, living at Trempeleau, who recorded the songs used by his grandfather when treating the sick. Additional old healing songs included those formerly used by a Winnebago

named Thunder and recorded by his sons. Herb remedies were administered and songs sung to make them effective.

Among the war songs is a group composed by members of the tribe when serving in France with the United States Army during the recent war. These express a high patriotism and are interesting examples of songs composed by several persons in collaboration. This is a phase of musical composition which has been observed among the Sioux and Makah, as well as among the Indians of British Columbia. Other classes of recorded Winnebago songs are those of the *Heroka* (bow and arrow spirits), songs to calm the waves, songs received in dreams, and songs of the moccasin game.

One purpose of the work among the Winnebago was to ascertain whether their songs resembled those of the neighboring Chippewa and the related Sioux. The songs show a distinct resemblance to the Chippewa and to the Menominee. Each tribe has its own songs, and exceedingly old songs of each tribe have been obtained, but there is a general resemblance in the melodic trend.

The study of material obtained at Neah Bay, Washington, and in British Columbia in 1926, as well as Menominee material obtained in 1925, was continued, together with the work on Winnebago songs. Eight manuscripts were submitted. . . .

The paper on Makah customs includes a consideration of such topics as the construction of houses and canoes, tools, rope, clothing, fishing, cooking tattooing, and wedding customs, also methods of making observations of the sun, and beliefs concerning petitions for supernatural help.

In addition of the preparation of original manuscript, Miss Densmore provided data for the labels of 520 songs and read the galley and page proof of her book on "Uses of Plants by the Chippewa Indians," and the galley proof of her book on "Chippewa Customs." She also combined her several papers on Menominee music into the form necessary for their publication, the material comprising more than 190 pages. . . . The song records obtained from Miss Densmore by the Bureau are now provided with catalogue numbers. . . . The total number of records transcribed is 1,695. (pp. 10-12)

46th Annual Report (1928-1929)

Material has been submitted on the songs of the Menominee, Winnebago, Pawnee, Yuma, Acoma, and the Indians living on the Fraser, Thompson, and Squamish Rivers in British Columbia; also on a small group of songs recorded in Anvik, Alaska, and obtained through the courtesy of Rev. John W. Chapman. A comparison of the songs in this wide territory has been important in the development of the research. . . . Eight manuscripts were submitted. . . . Miss Densmore corrected the proof of her book on Papago music and the galleys of Pawnee Music. . . . A large amount of work was done upon the preparation of Menominee and Yuma material for publication. . . .

During August and September, 1928, a field trip was made to the Winnebago and Menominee tribes in Wisconsin. A large dance, continuing three

days, was held by the Winnebago near Black River Falls. This dance was witnessed, as well as numerous incidents in the life in the camp, and about 50 photographs were taken.

At the conclusion of this gathering, Miss Densmore went to Keshena, Wisconsin, for further work among the Menominee. The manuscript already prepared was read to reliable members of the tribe and details were added. An interesting opportunity for seeing Menominee dances was afforded by the annual Indian Fair which continued four days. Among the old dances presented were those in imitation of the fish, frog, crawfish, rabbit, partridge, and owl. The songs of these dances, together with their action and origin, were recorded. The Manabus legend concerning the first death was obtained, together with its songs, and the work included the recording of other old material.

A drum-presentation ceremonial dance, commonly called a dream dance, was held at the native village of Zoar on September 2 to 5. This was attended each day and closely observed, Miss Densmore remaining 10 hours beside the dance circle on the third day of the ceremony. Many photographs were taken.

On September 14 Miss Densmore proceeded to Tomah, Wisconsin, and resumed her study of Winnebago music. Additional songs of the war-bundle feast, also called the winter feast, were recorded, together with several old legends and their songs, and the origin of the bowl-and-dice game, with its song. The legend of this game origin had previously been obtained among the Menominee. Numerous photographs were taken, and two drumming sticks were obtained, one being decorated with otter fur and used a generation ago by the leader of the drum.

During October, 1928, Miss Densmore went to Washington, D. C., and recorded 27 Acoma songs from Philip Sanche, who, with several Acoma Indians, was engaged in work for the chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology. A larger number of Acoma songs had previously been recorded for the Chief of the Bureau and these records were studied, 16 being transcribed as representative examples. (pp. 11-13)

47th Annual Report (1929-1930)

The music of 10 tribes of Indians has been studied during the past year by Miss Frances Densmore. . . These tribes are the Acoma, Menominee, Winnebago, Yuma, Cocopa, Mohave, Yaqui, Makah, Clayoquot, and Quileute. The first tribe given consideration was the Acoma, the work consisting in a completion of the study of records made in Washington by Philip Sanche. . . . An outstanding peculiarity of these songs is a gradual raising or lowering of the pitch during a performance. In some instances, the pitch was changed a semi-tone, in others a tone and a half, and one example contained a rise of a whole tone during one minute of singing. This was regarded as a mannerism and the song was transcribed on the pitch maintained for the longest time.

. . . The preparation for publication of a book on Menominee music has been practically completed. The manuscript contains 460 pages, with trans-

criptions of 140 songs, and large number of illustrations. The material collected at Neah Bay, Washington, and submitted in the form of 13 manuscripts during previous years, has been unified under chapter headings and retyped for publication. Interesting features of these songs are the prominence of the tetrachord and the large number of songs with a compass of three or four tones.

In July and August, 1929, a field trip was made to the Menominee and Winnebago in Wisconsin, the former tribe receiving the more consideration. This was the third visit to the Menominee and the work was done at Keshena, Neopit, and Zoar. In June, 1930, another trip was made to the Winnebago in Wisconsin, this being the fourth visit to that tribe. Songs were recorded in the vicinity of Tomah and also near Wisconsin Rapids. One of the singers at the former locality was Paul Decora, whose home is in Nebraska. Fourteen songs were recorded by this singer and found to contain the same changes of pitch which marked the performance of the Acoma singer. In some songs the pitch was steadily maintained, while in others it was gradually raised or lowered a semitone during the first rendition, the remainder of the performance being on the new pitch.

John Smoke is an industrious Winnebago farmer, who retains a "water-spirit bundle" inherited from his ancestors and uses it in a ceremonial manner. He allowed Miss Densmore to see this bundle, explained its use and benefits, and recorded two of its songs which are sung when its contents are exposed to view. A Winnebago flute player known as Frisk Cloud recorded three melodies on a flute made of metal pipe, and said "the love songs are words put to flute melodies." He is also a maker of flutes and described the measurements of an instrument in terms of hand and finger widths and hand spreads. Miss Densmore purchased the instrument on which the melodies had been played.

Winnebago songs and another flute performance were recorded by George Monegar, a blind man living near Wisconsin Rapids, who is considered one of the best authorities on old customs. He also related the legend of the origin of the flute.

Songs of 10 classes were recorded on this trip, with old and modern examples of one class. The recorded songs comprise those of the water-spirit bundle, hand game, and moccasin game, love songs, war songs, and a lullaby, and songs of the Green Corn, Friendship, Forty-nine, and Squaw dances. (pp. 8-10)

48th Annual Report (1930-1931)

...The three phases of this research are (1) the recording of songs and collecting of other material in the field, including the purchase of specimens; (2) the transcription and analysis of songs, with the development of information; and (3) the preparation of material for publication. All these phases have received attention during the year, and the songs of three hitherto unstudied localities have been recorded.

Early in July, 1930, Miss Densmore went to Grand Portage, an isolated Chippewa village on Lake Superior, near the Canadian boundary. This

village was visited in 1905, a ceremony was witnessed, and one of its songs written down; therefore a return to Grand Portage was particularly interesting. The purpose of the trip was to witness the Chippewa dances on the Fourth of July, but she remained more than three weeks, continuing her study of native customs. Several songs of the *Wabunowin* were heard and translated, these resembling the songs of the Grand Medicine, which formed a subject of intensive study during 1907-1911. She also witnessed the tipi-shaking of an Indian medicine man and listened to his songs for almost an hour. This performance is very rare at the present time. Although the evening was quiet, the tipi was seen to sway as though buffeted by a tempest, then remain motionless a few seconds and again shake convulsively. This was continuous while Miss Densmore watched the performance and was said to have continued several hours afterwards. Inside the tipi sat the medicine man, believed to be talking with spirits whom he had summoned, the spirits making known their presence by the shaking of the conical structure. The next day the medicine man said that he had summoned the spirits in order to ascertain whether his treatment of a certain sick man would be successful. He said that if the spirits "spoke loud and clear" the man would recover, but if their voices were faint the man would die. The response was said to have been satisfactory, and accordingly he instituted a "beneficial dance," which was attended by Miss Densmore, and the songs heard for a considerable time. These, like the songs in the tipi, resembled the songs of the Chippewa Grand Medicine Society.

The study of Indian music was continued by a trip to Kilbourn, Wisconsin, during August and September. Two pageants are given simultaneously at the Dells of the Wisconsin River, near Kilbourn, each employing about 100 Indians. In the pageants the swan and hoop dance, as well as war and social dances of the Winnebago were seen. The dances of other tribes presented in the pageants included the eagle dance and other Pueblo dances. Songs of the swan, hoop, and frog dances were later recorded by leading pageant singers.

At Kilbourn Miss Densmore recorded numerous songs of Pueblo Indians from Isleta and Cochiti, these consisting chiefly of corn-grinding and war songs. The words of these songs are highly poetic and many of the melodies resemble Acoma songs in structure.

As John Bearskin and his family were traveling from Kilbourne to their home in Nebraska they passed through Red Wing, Minnesota, and songs were recorded at Miss Densmore's home. Bearskin recorded three complete sets of Winnebago medicine lodge songs and a set of Buffalo feast songs.*

In January 1931, Miss Densmore went to Washington, where she worked on the preparation of material for publication, and proceeded thence to Miami, Florida, where she began a study of Seminole music, recording songs of the corn dance from the man who leads the singing in that ceremony; also the songs that precede a hunting expedition. The customs of the

* John Bearskin (Walking in Daylight) also recorded for Charles Hofman in 1946 at Wisconsin Dells. Examples included flute melodies and songs of the Old Medicine Society lodge. He also gave valuable information on plants and herbs used among the Winnebago. Bearskin's recordings may be heard on *Ethnic Folkways*, 4381.

Seminole were studied and a collection of specimens obtained. This collection includes two complete costumes and is now the property of the United States National Museum.

The second phase of the research is represented by eight manuscripts which include transcriptions and analyses of 77 songs and two flute melodies recorded by Winnebago, Isleta, Cochiti, and Seminole Indians. The cumulative analyses of Indians songs has been continued and now comprises 1,553 songs. The 14 tables submitted during this year constitute a comparison between a large series of Nootka and Quileute songs and the songs previously analyzed by the same method.

The third phase of the work comprised the preparation for publication of *Menominee Music* and *Acoma Music*. (pp. 15-17)

49th Annual Report (1931-1932)

...The three outstanding results of the year's work are a study of the Peyote cult and its songs among the Winnebago Indians, an intensive study of the songs and customs of the Seminole in Florida, and the completion for publication of a manuscript entitled *Nootka and Quileute Music*. In addition, numerous Pueblo songs recorded in 1930 have been transcribed and other Pueblo songs recorded. Eight manuscripts and the transcriptions of 109 songs have been submitted, together with the phonographic records and complete analyses of the songs.

Field trips were made to Wisconsin Dells in August and September, 1931. The first trip was devoted to the Pueblo work, the recording of Winnebago dance songs, and a continuance of the general study of the Winnebago. Following this, a visit was made to a basket-makers' camp near Holmen, Wisconsin, where the ceremonial songs of the John Rave branch of the Peyote organization were recorded by William Thunder, a leader in the ceremony. On the second trip to Wisconsin Dells the ceremonial songs of the Jesse Clay branch of the organization were recorded by James Yellowbank, who is a leader of that branch. In September 1931, and in June 1932, the study of peyote was continued with Winnebago Indians.

On November 6, 1931, Miss Densmore arrived in Miami, Florida, to resume a study of the Seminole Indians begun in January. During the early part of her stay the work was conducted in the Seminole villages at Musa Isle and Dania and in three camps on the Tamiami Trail between Miami and Everglades. Sixty-five songs were recorded by Panther (known as Josie Billie), a leader in the Big Cypress band of the tribe. He is a medicine man in regular practice, and his work was sometimes interrupted by his attendance upon the sick.

Early in February, Miss Densmore went to Fort Myers and made a trip to remote villages in the Everglades under the guidance of Stanley Hanson of that city. Then she went to the region west of Lake Okeechobee and recorded 125 songs at Brighton from Billie Stuart, a leader of singers in the Cow Greek group of Seminoles. Returning to Miami, work resumed at Musa Isle. Additional songs were recorded by Panther, and an important tradition was related by Billie Motlo, one of the few remaining old men of the tribe. (pp. 6-7)

50th Annual Report (1932-1933)

... Seven manuscripts were submitted. . . . An extended field trip in the Gulf States was begun in December 1932 and concluded in February 1933. The first tribe visited was the Alibamu in Polk County, Texas, more than 60 songs being recorded. The Chitimacha at Charenton, Louisiana, were next studied. About 80 songs were recorded from the Choctaw near Philadelphia, Mississippi. The Seminole in Florida were revisited and about 70 songs were recorded. (p. 5)

In a diary note dated June 17, 1933, Miss Densmore wrote, "End of work for the Bureau." On June 29th, Miss Densmore received a letter from Dr. Matthew W. Stirling, Chief of the Bureau, stating that she would retain her title of Collaborator.

52nd Annual Report (1934-1935)

Miss Frances Densmore, *a collaborator of the Bureau*, continued. . . submitting disk records of Indian songs made at the Century of Progress Exposition (in Chicago). The records of seven songs were submitted, with transcriptions of two Navajo and four Sioux songs, and accompanying data. These have been catalogued consecutively with her former work. Two of the Sioux songs were selected by Dean Carl E. Seashore for graphic reproduction by his method of phonophotography, the work being done at his laboratory at the University of Iowa, Iowa City.* This is the first use of this technique of graphical recording in connection with the study of Indian music. Dr. Seashore states: "From a single playing before the microphone three groups of records are made: first, a re-recording of the song on hard disks for auditory reference; second, a phonophotographic record of pitch, intensity and time; and, third, an oscillogram for harmonic analysis to determine tone quality." Through his courtesy there was submitted a print of a portion of the original phonophotogram of one of these songs, and a graph, or "pattern score" made by Dr. Harold Seashore from the phonophotogram. A comparison of this score with the transcription made by Miss Densmore corroborates the evidence of the ear in discerning the pitch of Indian singing and also opens interesting new avenues of investigation. Miss Densmore added a chapter on a summary of analysis to her book on British Columbian music, awaiting publication.

Acknowledgement is made of the courtesy of Mrs. Laura Boulton and Dr. George Herzog in providing the use of the Fairchild disk recording apparatus on which Indian songs were recorded at the Century of Progress Exposition. (p. 6)

In January 1943, Miss Densmore sent two of the four Chicago disks to me for my use as examples for lectures in Indian music. The originals, on aluminium, were copied at the Archive of Folklore of the Library of Congress, two ten-inch disks including seven songs. This was the first time that Miss Densmore used disk recording. She writes (1941) that "it was desired to obtain records typical of group singing by Sioux and five singers—three men and two women—were selected from those taking part in exhibitions at the

* See Seashore, Carl E., and Harold Seashore, "The Place of Phonophotography in the Study of Primitive Music," *Science*, 79: 2056, pp. 485-87.

Fair. . . . I also obtained examples of typical singing by women, with their peculiar tone production. Navajo songs were recorded by two members of that tribe, singing in unison while beating a small drum."

In a letter in 1943 she wrote, "These records were made for study of the entrance of various voices and they are excellent examples of that trait in Indian music. . . ."

In a diary note, Miss Densmore wrote, "No field trips were made in 1934 but Winnebago [John Bearskin] translated songs and gave information at my home in Red Wing."

Miss Densmore gave numerous lectures to clubs and universities during 1934. She also worked with Dr. Seashore, as noted in the *52nd Annual Report*. In December, she was invited to read a paper, *Medical Practices of the Chippewa and Other Indian Tribes*, by the Mayo Foundation Chapter of the Sigma XI, in Rochester, Minnesota. She reports that it "was a very successful event."

53rd Annual Report (1935-1936)

. . . submitted a manuscript. . . *Dance Songs of the Seminole Indians*, with phonograph records and transcriptions of 25 songs. These songs were recorded in February 1932 at Brighton, Florida, by Billie Stewart, one of the best singers in the Cow Creek group of the tribe. Five songs connected with the tribal ball game were presented, together with songs of the alligator, steal-partner, switch-grass, and buffalo dances. The songs of the ball game were sung to bring success and were accompanied by beating a water-drum hung by a strap from the player's shoulder. A coconut-shell rattle accompanied the dances. All the songs of each series were recorded. This afforded an opportunity to note the maintaining of a fundamental pitch throughout the series, with a pleasing variation of rhythm in the several melodies. (p. 6)

A memorandum received from Miss Densmore in 1935 reads "El Reno, Oklahoma—Cheyenne and Arapaho work done in long trips on reservation."

Field trips to the Cheyenne, Arapaho and Valley Maidu, and the recording of songs of Santo Domingo Pueblo (1936) by a member of the tribe temporarily in Los Angeles, were under the auspices of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles. The results have been published by that Museum. Seventy-five songs were recorded in 1935: 47 by Cheyenne singers, and 28 by Arapaho singers.

In March 1936, Miss Densmore was asked to become supervisor of Indian handicraft in Minneapolis for the Works Projects Administration. She demonstrated at Cass Lake almost four months, then resigned to complete another survey for the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles. In August she recorded Santo Domingo songs for sixteen days and arrived home the end of the month. In January 1937 she was asked to continue the Santo Domingo work (at the request of Eleanor Hague) and worked for two months following to complete this project as well as the collection of Maidu songs. From October 1937 until the end of September 1938, Miss Densmore was occupied mainly with the WPA Writer's Project in Minnesota.

56th Annual Report (1938-1939)

submitted two manuscripts: *Choctaw War and Dance Songs* and *Choctaw and Seminole Songs*, with phonograph records and transcriptions of 31 Choctaw and 9 Seminole songs. The Choctaw songs were recorded near Philadelphia, Mississippi, in January 1933, and the Seminole songs were recorded at Brighton, Florida, in February of the same year. Transcriptions and phonograph records of two performances on a Choctaw flute were also submitted. These flutes were played by medicine men during ball games to bring success to one group of players and confuse their opponents. Robert

Henry, who recorded the flute playing, is a leading medicine man at the ball games.... (66 Choctaw songs were previously submitted)... Fourteen manuscripts on the music of the Winnebago were combined...comprising about 300 pages...with 205 songs. (p. 6)

57th Annual Report (1939-1940)

...A trip was made to Wisconsin Dells...to confer with Evergreen Tree, a Cochiti Indian, and to obtain further information concerning songs he recorded several years previously. Additional information concerning the peyote cult was also received from Winnebago informants in Wisconsin and Minnesota.

Nine manuscripts on Pueblo music were recast and combined in... *Music of Acoma, Isleta, and Cochiti Pueblos, New Mexico*. Four manuscripts on *Choctaw Music* were combined. The manuscript on *Winnebago Music* was completed, and a portion of the peyote cult was restudied.... These three manuscripts are now ready for publication.... Eleven manuscripts on the music of the Seminole of Florida were combined in a tentative manuscript of more than 300 pages....

A peculiar custom observed in a few of the oldest Choctaw and Seminole songs consists in an embellishment of the melody in repetitions. It was found that the several renditions differed from one another and that the Indians were able to sing the simple melody, without the embellishments. These consisted in the addition of short, unimportant tones, without changing the trend of the melody. The custom resembles the improvisation which was noted in the songs of the Tule Indians of Panama and is in contrast to the exact repetitions of songs by northern tribes of Indians. A similar custom exists among Negroes on the Island of Trinidad in the British West Indians, and has been called Calypso....

Miss Densmore presented to the Bureau the original manuscript of an Onondaga Thanksgiving Song, written down for her in 1903 at Syracuse, New York, by Albert Cusick, a prominent Onondaga from the reservation near that city. The song is in two parts, the lower being rhythmic and resembling a vocal accompaniment to the melody. (pp. 7-8)

58th Annual Report (1940-1941)

...In August 1940 a trip was made to Wisconsin Dells to interview a group of visiting Zuñi Indians.* Songs were obtained from Falling Star, an Indian born in Zuñi, who had lived in the pueblo most of his life and taken part in the dances. His father also was a singer and dancer. Falling Star recorded 17 songs, 15 of which were transcribed and submitted to the Bureau. These are chiefly songs of lay-participants in the Rain Dance and the songs with grinding corn for household use.

* Diary note by Miss Densmore, August 26, 1940: "Started for Wisconsin Dells with phonograph to record songs under small grant from Miss [Eleanor] Hague. Recorded Zuñi songs in museum."

Additional data on the peyote cult among the Winnebago were obtained from a former informant* and incorporated in the manuscript on that tribe.

In October Miss Densmore went to Washington for consultation on manuscripts awaiting publication. During the winter she transcribed records of 71 Seminole songs, completing the transcriptions of recordings made in that tribe during the seasons 1931, 1932, and 1933. . . .

A paper on *A Search for Songs Among the Chitimacha Indians in Louisiana* submitted in 1933, was rewritten, amplified, and prepared for publication. The Chitimacha is the only tribe visited by Miss Densmore in which all the songs have been forgotten. Musical customs were remembered, and several legends were related in which songs were formerly sung.

In May 1941 Miss Densmore read a paper on *The Native Art of the Chipewa* before the Central States Branch of the American Anthropological Association at the annual meeting held in Minneapolis.

At the close of the fiscal year Miss Densmore was in Nebraska, her special interest being a search for songs that were recorded phonographically by Miss Alice C. Fletcher in the decade prior to 1893 and published in that year by the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology. If Indians can be found who remember these songs, they will be recorded again. A comparison of the two recordings will show the degree of accuracy with which the songs have been transmitted, and will be important to the subject of Indian music.

The entire collection of recordings of Indian songs submitted to the Bureau by Miss Densmore has been transferred to the National Archives for permanent preservation. These recordings were made and submitted during the period from 1907 to 1940, all having been catalogued and transcribed in musical notation. Many hundreds of other recordings have been made, studied and retained by Miss Densmore, but not transcribed. Recordings submitted after 1940 have been catalogued in sequence with the former collection. Thirty-five tribes are represented in the collection of 2,237 recordings, in addition to a group of songs recorded in British Columbia in which the tribes are not designated. (pp. 8-10)

In May 1941, Frances Densmore received an "award of merit, given by the National Association for American composers and conductors. . . for outstanding service to American music during the season 1940-1941."

The following report is from the author's article on Frances Densmore in the *Journal of American Folklore*, 58: 231, pp. 45-50 (January-March, 1946).

In March 1940 the notable Smithsonian-Densmore Collection of 3,353 recordings, received from the Smithsonian Institution, were accessioned to the National Archives of the United States. The greater part of this collection represents the field work of Frances Densmore from 1907-1940,

* Diary note by Miss Densmore, October 11-12, 1940: "Arthur Logan here and gave more information on the Jesse Clay section of peyote. . . . Worked hard all day inserting Logan information in peyote section."

including "items of religious, social and tribal music of 76 American Indian groups."* Since this collection was originally recorded on the old type perishable cylinders, it was imperative that the recordings be transferred to service discs. This problem was solved when a fund of several thousand dollars was given for "transferring the Smithsonian-Densmore Collection of American Indian sound recordings to a permanent base from which service copies can be made."** Because of the war use of strategic materials the National Archives postponed this work, but only for the duration. . . . In June 1943 the Library of Congress accessioned a group of Miss Densmore's cylinders, consisting of 26 items. . . . These recordings, representing 10 tribes, will be available for study and for general use as the Library has them transferred to disc copies.***

59th Annual Report (1941-1942)

. . . began the recording of Omaha songs at Macy, Nebraska,**** on the Omaha Reservation. Musical studies had been made among the Omaha by Miss Alice C. Fletcher prior to 1893, and Miss Densmore wishes, if possible, to contact singers who had recorded for Miss Fletcher and also to obtain duplicate recordings for comparative purposes. Among the older Indians, Miss Densmore located three singers, Edward Cline, Benjamin Parker, and Mattie Merrick White Parker, from whom songs had been obtained by Miss Fletcher. Miss Densmore recorded 32 songs from this group, including several which had been sung for Miss Fletcher. Joseph Hamilton and Henry J. Springer, who had been too young to sing for Miss Fletcher, were familiar with the songs of the old war societies and recorded 33 songs. A third group comprised younger men, George R. Phillips, Robert Dale, and John G. Miller, from whom 6 songs connected with the First World War were obtained.

Some of Miss Fletcher's published Omaha songs were played on a piano and were recognized by the Indians as having been recorded for her. Miss Densmore obtained new recordings of these which were transcribed and compared with the versions presented by Miss Fletcher. It was noted that while the general effect of each melody is the same in both versions, differences are rather marked. An adequate comparison of the singing of these songs in the two periods of time could be made only if the original recordings were available for comparison with the records made in 1941. In contrast to the differences in these serious songs, it was said that the song of the hand game, presented by Miss Fletcher, is in use at the present time. This was re-recorded for the present work, and the two versions differ only in the omission in the new recording of a few bytones. From this it appears that songs in common use are preserved among the Omaha without change, while songs connected with ancient customs or ceremonies, which have not been sung for many years, are being forgotten and will soon disappear.

* *Scientific Monthly* 55:1; Issue 322; pp. 95-97.

** *The New York Times*, August 14, 1941. (A gift of \$30,000 by Mrs. Hall Clovis [Eleanor Reese] was reported for this work.)

*** See later pages for report of recordings issued by Library of Congress.

**** Trip expenses were paid by Mrs. Hall Clovis.

Miss Densmore also obtained from Benjamin Parker a description and a model of an old type of drum. In former times the cylinder of this drum was a charred log, preferably of oak or elm. The lower head was of hide from the lower part of a buffalo's neck, and the upper head, which was struck, was made of deer hide or the hide from the hindquarter of an elk. These heads were laced together with buffalo thongs and tightened with bits of wood in the lacing, a custom not observed previously among the Indians.

During the year Miss Densmore arranged in final order 245 songs to accompany her manuscript on Seminole music and revised portions of the text to conform to this arrangement of the material.

In December 1941 Miss Densmore was appointed as consultant at the National Archives for work in connection with the Smithsonian-Densmore collection of sound recordings of American Indian music, and during the ensuing months she was engaged in planning the organization of the collection. (pp. 8-9)

60th Annual Report (1942-1943)

...completing two large manuscripts—*Seminole Music*, and *Music of Acoma, Isleta, Cochiti, and Zuñi Pueblos*. She also devoted considerable time to a study of the traces of foreign influences in the music of the American Indians. During a portion of the year she was engaged in writing a handbook of the Smithsonian-Densmore collection of sound recordings of American Indian music for the National Archives.

Miss Densmore presented to the Bureau a record of her field work on Indian music and customs for the Bureau from 1907-1941, and completed the bibliography of her writings on that subject. She also presented the original phonograph record of a speech in the Ute language by the famous Ute chief Red Cap, made in 1916, and a similar record of a speech made in the Yuma language by Kacora, made in 1922, with accompanying information*.

In 1943 Miss Densmore completes 50 years' study of the music, customs, and history of the American Indians. (p. 7)

61th Annual Report (1943-1944)

...continued her work...by writing a manuscript entitled *Omaha Music*, with transcriptions of 64 songs. This manuscript was based upon research in Nebraska in 1941 and included re-recordings of several songs that were recorded for Miss Alice C. Fletcher by the same singers. The date of the previous recordings was said to have been 1887 to 1890 and the songs are included in Miss Fletcher's *Study of Omaha Indian Music*, published by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, and in the *Omaha Tribe*, by Miss Fletcher and Francis La Flesche, in the *27th Annual Report* of the Bureau. Many songs of Miss Fletcher's work were recognized by men who had not the tribal right to sing them. The present manuscript includes old

* For details, see Miss Densmore's personal memoir of 1917, *Incidents in the Study of Ute Music*, pages 49-53.

songs of Omaha military and social societies, songs connected with the First World War, and songs of legends and the hand game.

Miss Densmore compiled and presented to the Bureau a chronology of her study and presentation of Indian music from 1893 to June 1944. This chronology was based on diaries, scrapbooks, and *Reports* of the Bureau.* During a portion of the year she was engaged in completing the handbook . . . for the National Archives. (p. 6)

63rd Annual Report (1945-1946)

. . . prepared for publication a paper entitled *Music of the Alabama Texas*. In this tribe, Miss Densmore found that only ordinary dance songs remain.

She also submitted her complete bibliography covering 50 years of study of American Indian music and a paper entitled *Prelude to the Study of Indian Music in Minnesota*.** Another long paper was completed on the subject *Distribution of Certain Peculiarities in Indian Songs* . . . illustrated with a number of distribution maps. (p. 10)

SELECTED LETTERS

Letter (October 3, 1942)

I was always determined that Indian music, or the knowledge of it, should "not perish from the earth." But remember I am only one person with no one helping with the real work. I have even done practically all my typing, especially in recent years. . . . Miss Fletcher was very generous and encouraging to me when I was starting and I am willing to be just as generous toward you.

Letter (September 28, 1943)

You ask about the early Densmores. Their migrations were Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Wisconsin and thence to Minnesota. Some of the early ancestors came to Ipswich in 1633. There is a history in the Virkus Genealogy. My father came to St. Paul in 1854 and did much important railroad and town-site surveying. He was a civil engineer. Grandfather and the rest of the family came to Red Wing in '57—he was Judge Densmore and held numerous positions on State Boards and with the Legislature. . . . The Densmores were always musical from earliest days. Father was a Beloit College man in the early fifties—all the Densmore sons went to Beloit. . . . This is sketchy but shows a general background. . . . There has been a very fine voice in each generation but I didn't get it! Scotch-English is hard-working stock, with just a bit of Irish and French-Huguenot for

* A portion of this chronology with diary excerpts and other memoirs and personal papers was sent (in carbon copy) to me during that season.

** Included on pages 30-33.

variety. . . . The only way I can write you so much is by writing just as things come into my mind. It is for you to sort them out! But I do feel that you have qualifications for a really large success along educational lines. . . . My sister (Margaret) has a fine memory, she knows nothing of music nor of book ethnology, but has a remarkable grasp of any situation; a fine memory for Indian names and faces, and drives a car. She has often been called a sort of super-secret-service man, when we are in the field, as she keeps outside Indians from bothering me and I have absolute confidence in her "protection"! . . .

Letter (October 20, 1943)

In regard archaeology vs. ethnology: Long ago I invented the phrase "archeology of the mind" The idea was that my work was digging down into the *minds* of old Indians, going down through one layer after another until I got down to what they remembered of the oldest traditions. I had old Indians to deal with, who had something worth while at the bottom of their minds. The difference is that now, with young men, one would soon strike the layer of school-and-missionary-instruction, with a rather distorted and incomplete recollection of very early childhood before they went to school. Their recollections are colored. . . . before they could talk plainly, and learn a foreign language. Of course, when I began work, the Indian children were absolutely forbidden to "talk Indian" even at play in a Government school. It looked pretty severe, but I made no comments—but, see what fine men that policy produced. Of course the incompetents were no good anyway, but there emerged the sort that are now exploited as genuine Indians *in spite* of abuse by the government. Absolutely no credit is given to the painstaking education of one generation of Indians after another, by our government. . . . There were many fine personalities that impressed themselves on the young Indians. I once remarked to Higheagle, my Sioux interpreter, that he must have had good teaching in English at Hampton and he said he had an English teacher who took the greatest pains to teach him correct English. As a result, he did extra fine, discriminating work with me on the Sioux book, and was a teacher on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Miss Densmore wrote the following letter to Willard Rhodes of Columbia University, May 6, 1953.

My present attitude toward the study of Indian, or primitive, music is definite and is opposed to its becoming highly technical. As you may be aware, I have always used the term "study of Indian music" instead of the term "musicology." Music is a human expression, originating in a mental concept, and is not the product of *laws*. My effort has been to present music from the standpoint of the Indian, with such comparisons to our own music as would aid our approach to it, but the origin has, in all the important old songs, been the "dream." Such songs are rapidly passing away and are now a matter of tradition, which adds to the importance of preserving the old songs that have been handed down to the present generation, with

the story of their origin. The same would undoubtedly apply to certain foreign countries, where early customs are not entirely gone. Music affected by acculturation has little interest for me as the individuality of peoples is being absorbed in our idea of "one world."

From March 1, until May 15, 1954, Miss Densmore was in Florida for her fourth trip to the Seminole Indians. The research and investigation was made possible through the financial assistance and cooperation of the Graduate Council and the Division of Music of the University of Florida. Several papers were written including "The Seminole Indian Today" (*Southern Folklore Quarterly*, 18:4, December 1954, pp. 212-21).

Miss Densmore prepared and gave an address to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Florida on March 31, 1954. (See page 96).

In July 1945, Miss Densmore went to Ashland, Wisconsin, to make the Great Lakes Indian Agency the headquarters of a new field of study. During that season she was concerned with the present status and to some extent the background of the Indians in Michigan. The research was made possible by a Homeopathic Hospital Guild Scholarship in Michigan Ethnology, supplemented by a generous gift from Dr. Chase S. Osborn, former governor of Michigan, and Miss Stella Brunt Osborn, through the Friends of the Michigan Indian Research Fund of the University of Michigan.

The intention was to begin the work on Sugar Island and in the adjacent part of Canada, but a change of plan was made necessary by difficulties owing to war conditions. At the Great Lakes Agency in Ashland, Miss Densmore made two trips to Indian reservations, the first by bus to Watersmeet, where certain Indians from Lac Vieux Desert were living. This group is the most conservative of those living in Michigan. The second trip was by automobile to the L'Anse reservation, which has the largest group of Indians in the state. She made this trip with Mr. Charles H. Racey, forest supervisor. She visited four places on this reservation and interviewed the Indians. The Chippewa in northern Michigan reputedly originate from the settlements at the foot of Chequamegon Bay and on Madeline Island in Wisconsin; Miss Densmore visited these localities on a bus and boat trip from Ashland. She had visited them previously in 1910.

A report of this work was published as *A Study of Some Michigan Indians*, by the University of Michigan in 1949. The preceding information was adapted from Miss Densmore's introduction to that monograph.

Before leaving for this trip, Miss Densmore wrote the following in a letter to me dated July 16, 1945.

I view with some concern the fact that the work I am going to do for the University of Michigan has nothing to do with music, except as a small side-question. It puts me into a very different field. . . . Meantime the old Indians, whom I have had so much experience in handling, are rapidly passing away and the younger generation do not absorb their information. The old men say flatly that they will not *tell* the old ideas to the young men.

Letter (August 8, 1945)

Your letter finds me here (Ashland), arriving July 26. The Agent (Jesse C. Cavill) has given me the use of a very fine office, completely equipped, and placed at my disposal all his files and unpublished data on Michigan Indians. . . . Tomorrow Margaret and I are going to an Indian community and don't know just how long we will be gone, but will return here to finish up. This is just over the line from Michigan and this agency has Indians from both states. . . . We have had some very beautiful weather and the Lake is lovely. I am very fond of this region!

Letter (September 17, 1945)

We returned from the work for the University of Michigan on August 25 after an absence of four weeks and three days—and a very successful trip. I will send you a map showing the extent of trips. . . . One definite result was finding that I am now able to plan and carry through a "stiff" field trip with its many decisions and its use of the old technique in getting information out of Indians. I was no more tired after the trip than before my illnesses of the past three years. I find this makes me the more restless and anxious to go to work again, before the last vestige of Indian material is gone.* It is not going to last like your English and European songs which are folk material.

In 1948 Miss Densmore began work on the series of albums to be issued by the Archive of Folklore of the Library of Congress, where the Smithsonian-Densmore Collection had been transferred from the National Archives. Funds of \$30,000 had been given for this work through the generosity of Eleanor Steele Reese (Mrs. E. P. Reese), formerly Mrs. Hall Clovis. This work, which Miss Densmore did for the Music Division of the Library of Congress, is described in Hon. August H. Andresen's speech in the House of Representatives in 1952 (see Appendix).

Ten albums of Miss Densmore's work were planned with descriptive booklets. At this writing (1967), seven have been released since 1950:

Songs of the Chippewa (L22)
Songs of the Sioux (L23)
Songs of the Yuma, Cocopa and Yaqui (L24)
Songs of the Pawnee and Northern Ute (L25)
Songs of the Papago (L31)
Songs of the Nootka and Quileute (L32)
Songs of the Menominee, Mandan and Hidatsa (L33)

The three remaining albums planned will be entitled as follows:

Songs of the Winnebago
Songs of British Columbian and Pueblo Groups
Songs of the Choctaw and Seminole

Miss Densmore wrote the following, dated July 25, 1949, to Duncan Emerich, Archive of Folklore, Library of Congress.

They are very different from the records of Indian songs now being made. A recent comment on the Rhodes' *Sioux and Navaho* album (Folkways) is that the drum has a resonance, as though the recording were done in a large hall. Mine were recorded in the most impossible places, including a school laundry and a vacant room in the agency jail, a schoolroom and all sorts of Indians' houses. The only objective was an absolutely reliable singer and interpreter. These records are something entirely new in the field and must be "sold" partly on their description.

The following telegram to Duncan Emerich was written February 3, 1950.

Final Chippewa album received today. I have played the discs and they have my full approval. The series is interesting and effective.

* Written in her 78th year.

On July 23, 1950 Miss Densmore addressed this message to Harold Spivacke, Music Division, Library of Congress.

The sound of Indian singing, by authentic singers, is like a foreign language and one great value of these records is their preserving the old native technique. They do not have the appeal of folk songs but are, as you realize, a form of scientific research.

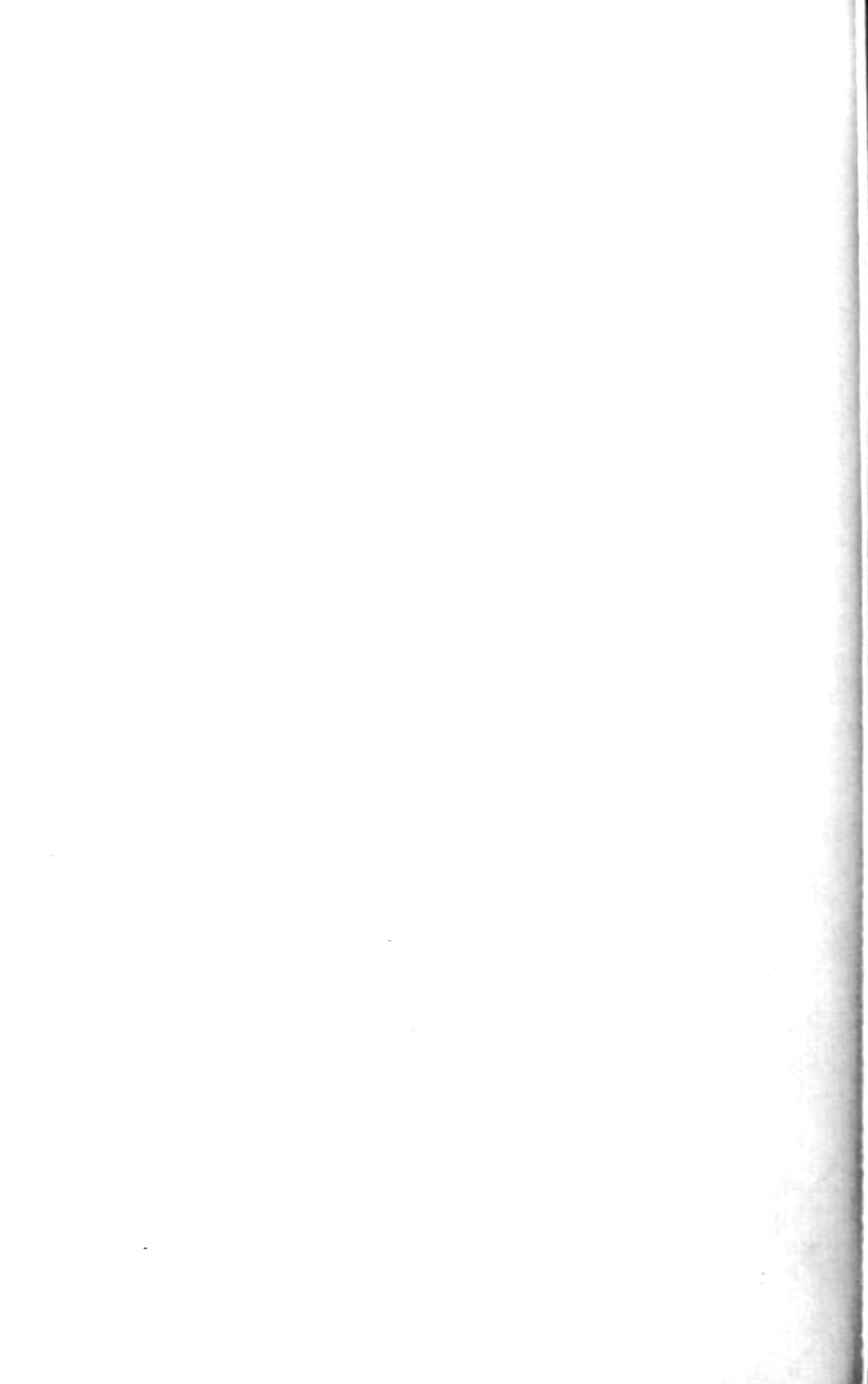
Letter (May 13, 1954)

During the past few months I had an appointment as consultant on Indian music at the University of Florida which showed me the opportunity for educational work on the subject of Indians. I wish this might be developed. In April, I made my fourth trip to the Seminole Indians and recorded some of their songs on tape—that being my first use of that method . . . I have almost completed my present assignment and will return to Red Wing next week. During March, I gave eight lectures to students and had many conferences . . . There seems an opening for such use but no plan or leadership for it.

The following letter was addressed to Willard Rhodes dated April 6, 1956.

Your letter asked for the essential facts about my work, for use in a brief introduction to my bibliography.* I enclose some memo which may look formidable but can easily be condensed in a small space. My work for the Library of Congress was, as you probably know, in connection with the Smithsonian-Densmore Collection. The entire series of my recordings was transferred from the Bureau of American Ethnology to the National Archives where I wrote the Handbook. Then the entire series was transferred to the Library of Congress as the Archives had no facility to copy the songs. An act of Congress was necessary in order to make this transfer. My work for the Library consisted in playing *all* the recordings, selecting and arranging those for them to issue in albums. The first album comprised five discs, and then the same material was put to the first of the long-playing records, which had just come into use . . . The main point is that material has been preserved in a practical form that would otherwise have been lost in the changing conditions of the Indians.

* The bibliography was published in *Ethnomusicology*, April 1956, pp. 13-29.



REPRESENTATIVE ARTICLES

Several times in letters and in person Frances Densmore expressed her desire to accomplish certain ideas in projects devoted to the study of Indian music. One was an album to contain *Healing Songs of the American Indians*, showing examples of music used in treatment of the sick. She had previously published several articles on the subject but never brought out the proposed album. In 1965 I undertook to select from her recordings 19 such examples representing seven tribes with songs by seven Indian doctors. It was released commercially as *Folkways* album 4251.

THE USE OF MUSIC IN THE TREATMENT OF THE SICK BY AMERICAN INDIANS

Two methods of treating the sick were used by the American Indians in early days and are continued to some extent at the present time. One method involves the private ministrations of a doctor or medicine man and the other a public ceremony, conducted by a number of doctors, attended by many people, and often continued for several days. Music is an important phase of each method and consists of singing by the doctor or his assistants and the shaking of a rattle or beating of a drum. The songs used in these treatments are said to come from supernatural sources in "dreams" or visions, and with them come directions for procedure and a knowledge of the herbs to be used.

Both methods were seen and described by the White men who first went among the Indians, but a study of the songs was made possible only by the recording phonograph, which came into use about 1890. The study of recordings of Indian songs may be compared to the work of a chemist in his laboratory. By this means the structure of the melody can be determined and the song transcribed as nearly as possible in musical notation.

Another factor contributing to our understanding of Indian medical practice is the development of educated interpreters with a knowledge of both English and Indian idioms. The missionaries were the first teachers of the Indians, and among the first English words learned by Indians were those connected with the religious teaching of the period. Such words were applied to many Indian customs that the White men did not understand, and the terms "superstition" and "witchcraft," as well as words of highest spiritual import, were attached to Indian customs. These terms became permanent and, to a large extent, have influenced the White man's opinion of the Indian. Similarly the terms "music" and "singing" were applied to Indian performances. These did not please the White man, and there is still a reluctance to regard music as an important phase of Indian culture worthy of our consideration.

Early ethnologists attended the healing ceremonies of the Indians but did not write of individual treatment by the Indian doctors. The first ethnologist we shall quote is the Rev. Clay MacCauley,¹ who went among the Seminoles in the winter of 1880-81. He attended the annual Green Corn Dance and heard a "medicine song" which was sung as a certain medicine was drunk; the belief was that unless one drank of it he would be sick at some time in the year. MacCauley's Seminole informant refused to sing the song for him after the feast, saying that he would "certainly meet with some harm" if he did so. This refusal shows an early connection between music and health. MacCauley stated clearly that he did not know what part incantation or sorcery played in the healing of the sick. One of the most important papers by early ethnologists is *The Mountain Chant: a Navajo Ceremony*, by Dr. Washington Matthews.² The author selected the Mountain Chant from

¹ *The Seminole Indians of Florida*, 5th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (1883-84), pp. 469-531, 1888.

² 5th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (1883-84), pp. 379-467, 1888.

among other Navajo ceremonies because he witnessed it the most frequently. Like other great rites of the Navajo, it was of 9 days' duration. The shaman, or medicine man, who was master of ceremonies, was known as the chanter, and the ceremony was "ostensibly to cure the sick." The myth concerning the origin of the Mountain Chant (Dsilýldje Qaçàl) relates that "many years ago . . . the Navajo had a healing dance in the dark corral; but it was imperfect, with few songs and no *kethawns* or sacrificial sticks." Dr. Matthews describes a ceremony that he attended on October 1, 1884, at a place on the Navajo Reservation about 20 miles northwest of Fort Wingate, N. Mex., and he presents descriptions and illustrations of the four wonderful pictures on sand (drypaintings) that were used on that occasion. The patient was a middle-aged woman and the treatment included "prayer, song and rattling." No information concerning the songs or the form of the rattle is presented.

A remarkable study of the individual treatment of the sick, in contrast to the ceremonial, was made by James Mooney,³ who collected in 1887 and 1888 about 600 sacred formulas of the Cherokees. The original manuscripts were transferred to the Bureau of American Ethnology. These manuscripts "were written by the Shamans of the tribe, for their own use, in the Cherokee characters invented by Skiwa'ya (Sequoyah) in 1821. Some of these manuscripts are known to be at least thirty years old, and many are probably older." Eleven of the formulas are for the treatment of the sick, and the use of songs is mentioned in connection with the treatment of snake bite, "the great chill" (intermittent fever), and an ailment which "from the vague description of symptoms . . . appears to be an aggravated form of biliousness." The formula for the treatment of chill "begins with a song of four verses, in which the doctor invokes in succession the spirits of the air, of the mountain, of the forest, and of the water." In a serious case the doctor follows the song with a prayer to the whirlwind "which is considered to dwell among the trees on the mountain side, where the trembling of the leaves gives the first intimation of its presence." The doctor directs the whirlwind "to scatter the disease as it scatters the leaves of the forest, so that it shall utterly disappear."

Mooney found that "like most primitive people the Cherokees believe that disease and death are not natural, but are due to the evil influence of animal spirits, ghosts or witches." He quotes Haywood,⁴ who stated that "in ancient times the Cherokees had no conception of anyone dying a natural death," and presents a Cherokee myth concerning the origin of both disease and medicine. According to this myth, the animals and all living creatures were happy together until man came and began killing them for food and clothing. They then held a council for their safety and protection. The decision was that each group of animals should inflict a disease upon man. The deer resolved to inflict rheumatism upon every hunter who killed one of their number without asking pardon for the offense. They sent notice of this resolution to the nearest settlement of Indians and told them how to avoid giving offense when necessity forced them to kill one of the deer tribe. The plants were friendly to man and determined to defeat the evil design of the animals. "Each tree, shrub, and herb, down even to the grasses and mosses, agreed to furnish a remedy for some one of the diseases . . . When the doctor is in doubt what treatment to apply for the relief of a patient, the spirit of the plant suggests to him the proper remedy."

To such beliefs the student finds parallels in recent times in widely separated tribes and in customs that the Indians follow without giving any reason for their observance. The Papago in southern Arizona told the writer of their belief that every disease is caused by an animal or spirit which imparts the secret of its cure to a favored doctor. A song is taught to him as an essential part of the treatment. Among the Algonkins it is still customary for a doctor to put tobacco in the ground when he digs a medicinal herb and to "talk a little," asking the herb to help the sick person. In the old days a hunter apologized to an animal before killing it, saying its flesh was needed for food. The belief in a nature that was friendly to man has always been strong. The Indians did not have the White man's idea of "conquering nature." Many offerings have been construed by White men as propitiation when, to the Indians, they were simply gifts to a friend. An exchange of gifts is a common custom, and the Indians acknowledged thus the bounty of nature. Careful interpreters have explained to the writer that the native term did not suggest anger on the part of the spirit to whom the gift was offered. This harmony between man and nature may seem

³ Mooney, J., *The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees*, 7th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (1885-86), pp. 301-397, 1892.

⁴ Haywood, John, *Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee*, pp. 267-268, 1823.

apart from our subject, but it is important to an understanding of Indian therapy. It was the desire of the Indian doctor to restore what he believed to be a natural condition of health, strength, and long life, such as he saw in the natural world. The Indians believed in the existence of evil spirits but also believed that the medicine men had power over them. The laity did not attempt to deal with evil spirits.

Both the individual and ceremonial methods of treating the sick were studied among the Chippewa (Ojibwa) of Minnesota by Dr. W. J. Hoffman.⁶ Singing and the shaking of a rattle or beating of a drum were essential parts of both methods of treatment. The sick man was first treated in his home. A member of the Midéwiwin would give him a medicinal broth, singing and shaking his rattle as the patient drank. The songs of the Midéwiwin are represented by mnemonics, or song pictures; 150 of these were collected by Hoffman with translations of the words, and 18 were transcribed in musical notation. Typical of the words are "The spirit saw me and gave me medicine from above" and "It is also on the trees, that from which I take life." If this first treatment was not successful, the sick man would be carried to the lodge of the Midéwiwin and treated by a number of its members in a ceremonial manner. If this condition became hopeless, the singing was generally continued until life was extinct. Since health and long life, as well as a right mode of living, were among the teachings of the Midéwiwin, this extensive use of music is important to our subject.

The writer began her study of the Midéwiwin and its songs in 1907 by attending a ceremony at Onigum on Leech Lake, Minn. This ceremony was conducted for Flat Mouth, the last hereditary chief of the Pillager band of Chippewa, who was very ill. His condition had been pronounced hopeless by the government physician, and he had asked that the native treatment be permitted. The request was granted. Eight members of the Midéwiwin were summoned and sang in Flat Mouth's wigwam for several days and nights. As he showed no improvement, a ceremony of the Midéwiwin was instituted. Flat Mouth was carried outdoors and placed in the center of an enclosure formed of low branches of trees. There the doctors of the Midéwiwin moved around him, singing their songs and ministering to him. The writer stood outside the enclosure listening to the songs for many hours. As the end approached, Flat Mouth was carried into his wigwam, and in a short time the firing of a gun announced the passing of his spirit.



FIGURE 1.—Chippewa healing song, recorded by Ge'miwûnac'.

⁶ Hoffman, W. J., *The Midéwiwin or "Grand Medicine Society" of the Ojibwa*, 7th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. (1885-86), pp. 143-300, 1892.

Words

Kimaniđó' wihé'	_____	You are a spirit.
Kimaniđó' wíin'	_____	I am making you a spirit.
Endá' nabiyan'	_____	In the place where I sit.
Kimaniđó' wíin'	_____	I am making you a spirit.

A few weeks later the writer returned to Leech Lake with a phonograph to begin her work of recording Indian songs for the Bureau of American Ethnology. There she met Ge'-miwúnac' (bird that flies through the rain), the aged member of the Midéwiwin who had charge of the ceremony for Flat Mouth. She asked whether he would record some of the songs heard at that time. He replied that he was so overcome during the last hours of Flat Mouth's life that he could not recall exactly what songs were sung, but he did record a song that he generally sang under such circumstances (fig. 1).

The writer's study of the Midéwiwin and the treatment of the sick was continued at White Earth, Minn., where Hoffman had witnessed a ceremony of the society in 1889. Certain Chippewa remembered him and aided the later work which continued to some extent his earlier research on the subject (cf. p. 454).

A certain class of Chippewa doctors are not of necessity members of the Midéwiwin. They claim to summon spirits and commune with them. Such men do not administer remedies, but rather impress their patient by exhibitions of various sorts intended to show their magic power. They are commonly called jugglers and are here designated as medicine men. The Jesuit Fathers met them early in the seventeenth century and called them "magiciens et consultants du manitou" (spirits). In their demonstrations they are tightly bound and placed in a small conical tipi. They sing, the structure sways as though in a tempest, and strange sounds are heard; these sounds are said to be the voices of spirits communing with the medicine man. Nor has this custom entirely passed away. The writer witnessed it in 1930 at Grand Portage, an isolated Chippewa village on the north shore of Lake Superior, where for about two hours in the quiet of a summer evening the little tipi swayed as though a mighty wind were blowing. The next day the medicine man said that he had summoned the spirits to learn whether they would help him cure a certain sick man. Without that assurance he was unwilling to take the case. He added that the spirits "spoke loud and clear" so he was sure his treatment would be successful. A day or two later a "beneficial dance" was held under his direction for the man, whose illness had been diagnosed by a physician and a nurse as "apparently typhoid fever." They told the man to keep quiet and remain in bed. The dance was held in an enclosure at his door, and a generous feast was cooked and served. The writer attended the dance and listened to the songs, and about two weeks afterward she was informed that the man had recovered.

At Santo Domingo Pueblo, N. Mex., as among the Chippewa, the private treatment of the sick may be followed by treatment in a public ceremony. The healing customs of this pueblo were described and 10 of its healing songs recorded in Los Angeles by a man from the pueblo. He said, "If the doctors who give herb remedies fail to help a patient, the medicine men of the Flint Society may be summoned." This is a medicine society which goes into retreat before a communal rabbit hunt and follows the retreat with a ceremony much like that used to bring rain or secure good crops. The members of the society, usually 15 or 16 in number, go to the house of the sick man, arriving early in the evening. They shake their black gourd rattles and sing until about midnight, with pauses for relaxation and smoking at intervals of about eight songs. If the patient is a woman they may question her and ask her friends what she has done to bring on the sickness. Then they consult among themselves as to her condition and chances of recovery. There is much ceremonial procedure, including the making and effacing of a meal-painting ("altar") on which certain ceremonial articles are placed. The medicine men "call on the birds and animals," whose voices are distinctly heard. They look in a crystal ball and make use of a special song with these words:

I am fighting to cure you.
 I will suck out what is hurting you, to cure you.
 The things I shall take out are the things that are causing your sickness.
 Now I shall take Mother Bear and put her under my arm
 As I get ready to look in the crystal, and I will help you.
 Help us all.
 Thank you.

"Mother Bear" refers to the "bear-paws" or "mittens" which the medicine man puts over his hands. They consist of the skin of the forelegs of the bear, with the paws. It is said that the people "never deny what a medicine man says he sees in the crystal."

We have dwelt somewhat at length of the circumstances under which the Indians sing their healing songs. Let us now consider the men and women who sing them and the characteristics of the songs.

I have known the Indian doctors in many tribes, from British Columbia to Florida, and the acquaintance in some instances has continued for several years. Without exception they were quiet conservative men and women, constituting a definite type and respected in their several tribes. They prepare themselves for their calling by a fast in which they receive their "dream" or vision, and they live strictly in accordance with the requirements of that dream. They do not take part in social affairs, but they are not antagonistic toward them. Doctors do not expect to be understood, nor do they seek companionship. A doctor's wife is usually his principal helper. Through this isolation comes a deepened sense of companionship with all living creatures and an awareness of nature in all its manifestations.

Three women who were engaged in the practice of medicine told me of their work. These were Owl Woman, the Papago (cf. p. 450), Susie Tiger (a Seminole of the northern or Cow Creek group living in the cabbage-palm country), and Mrs. Washington, of the Northern Ute. Susie Tiger recorded five songs which she was using in her treatment of the sick. These included songs for lumbago, for a sick baby, for bringing a child into the world, a song addressed to the "white sun-lady," and a song addressed to the dying in which she besought the spirit to turn back before reaching nine different places in the journey. Mrs. Washington gave no material remedies, for she claimed to have supernatural power. Her speciality was the treatment of illnesses caused by an evil influence proceeding from some person. She recorded six of her songs and said that she usually sang them when the sun was at a height corresponding to its position at about 10 o'clock on a summer morning.

Indian doctors were primitive psychologists. They studied their patients and did not always consider it necessary to give medicine. In Santo Domingo Pueblo it was believed that personal jealousy might cause illness, and in a certain northern tribe the patient was sometimes told to "get up a dance and have a big time" and he would be well again. There has been also a distinct feeling that such treatment deserved a fee. Natawika, a Menominee doctor, said, "The medicine will not work unless they pay for it." She had no fixed fee but required the patient to give what he was able—perhaps a little tobacco, a handkerchief, or about four yards of calico. Natawika died in 1918, and this information was supplied by her daughter. Eagle Shield, a Sioux doctor, described a case for which he received a large fee consisting of \$100, a new white tent, a revolver, and a steer.

It has been said that primitive treatment of the sick is characterized by affirmation. I have found this practice less frequently in the words of the songs than in the doctor's speech before beginning the treatment. At that time he often tells the source of his power and sometimes relates his former successes. The source of his power is generally a bird or animal known to have great strength, or something in nature that is connected with vibration, such as the wind or the "great water" when it is seething and in motion, or a mountain shaken with mysterious "spirit power." An example of affirmation occurs in a ceremonial song of the Chippewa Midéwiwin containing these words:

You will recover, you will walk again.
It is I who say it. My power is great.
Through our white shell (emblem of the Midéwiwin)
I will enable you to walk again.

There are differences of custom between tribes and between individual doctors, but the prevailing characteristic of Indian healing songs is irregularity of accent. Sometimes this takes the form of unexpected interruptions of a steady rhythm and sometimes there is a peculiar rhythmic pattern throughout the melody. It is my custom to transcribe the phonograph records of Indian songs in musical notation, using ordinary indications. Thus the transcriptions contain frequent changes of measure lengths. Indians never "sing with expression;" the singing of an Indian doctor is entirely monotonous. By this manner of presentation the rhythm is impressed on the mind of the patient. The rhythmic pattern holds his attention and, in some instances, may be somewhat hypnotic in effect. Certain healing songs are sung many times, while others are sung a definite number of times, usually three, four, or five. Some doctors have songs for beginning and ending a treatment,

and others have special songs for each of the four divisions of the night. Such details of procedure are in accordance with the instructions received by the doctor in his dream.

Songs used for treatment of the sick have been recorded by the writer in the following tribes and in British Columbia: Cheyenne, Chippewa, Makah and Clayquot (at Neah Bay, Wash.), Menominee, Papago, Seminole, Sioux, Northern Ute, Winnebago, and Yuma. Healing songs were also recorded by Tule Indians from Panama and by Indians from Acoma and Santo Domingo Pueblos.⁶ Except for a few British Columbian and Tule songs, the recordings were made by doctors who were using the songs in their treatment of the sick. Many songs of the Chippewa Midéwiwin are connected with ceremonies believed to benefit or cure the sick but are not songs of individual doctors, related to the treatment of specific diseases, accidents, or physical conditions. They are accordingly omitted in the following analysis, which is limited to songs used definitely in treating the sick. The total number of such songs recorded and transcribed in musical notation is 197; many others have been studied and were found to be similar in structure.

Mention has been made of a change of accent, or irregular rhythm, in many Indian songs for the sick. A tabulation of these 197 songs, from 14 localities, shows that such a change occurs in 173, or about 88 percent of the number. In a similar analysis of 1,510 songs of all classes, from many tribes, only 83 percent contain a change of accent. In many Indian performances there is a difference in the metric unit, or tempo, of the voice and accompanying instrument, but this does not characterize the songs for the sick. Only 34 of these songs were recorded with accompaniment, but the metric unit of voice and accompaniment was the same in 24, constituting about 70 percent of the number. The accompaniment was faster than the voice in six and slower in four songs. A small drum was substituted for the usual rattle when recording these songs. As one purpose of Indian healing songs is to quiet the patient, a tabulation was made also of the tempo of the 197 recorded songs. This shows that 59 songs were sung slowly ($\text{♩} = 40$ to $\text{♩} = 104$) constituting 30 percent of the number. In a previous tabulation of 710 songs of all classes in three tribes, the largest groups have a more rapid tempo ($\text{♩} = 76$ to $\text{♩} = 104$). The latter may be considered the general tempo of Indian songs, though many are much more rapid.

The foregoing analysis shows that the characteristics of recorded Indian songs for the sick are irregularity of rhythm in the melody, a slow tempo, and a coincidence of voice and accompaniment. As the songs under consideration are typical, it is believed that the results would be the same if the analysis included a larger number of such songs.

The ownership of a song, as indicated, was with the man or woman who received it in a dream. Others might know the song and be asked by the owner to sing with him in order to add their power to his in a case of serious illness, but they could not use such songs with authority unless granted that privilege by the original owner. He did not relinquish his own use of the song by this action. Among the Menominee and in some other tribes there was a rule that a man seeking to buy a song and its manner of use must make the request four times, on consecutive nights, and that each request must be accompanied by a gift. The owner would then teach the song, explain its use, and show a specimen of the herb to be employed with it. He did not transfer the plant; this the inquirer had to identify from memory and find for himself.

Two types of Cheyenne doctors in Oklahoma have recorded their songs for healing the sick. These are Bob-tailed Wolf, who received his songs and power direct from supernatural sources, and Turtle, who obtained most of his songs from an older doctor, and received only one song himself. That song was taught to him by a spirit buffalo.

⁶ The writer's study of music in the following tribes did not include songs for the sick: Arapaho, Alabama, Choctaw, Cocopa, Hidatsa, Maidu, Mandan, Omaha, Yaqui, and Zuni and Cochiti Pueblos. Nor were songs of this class included in recordings of Indian songs secured at Anvik, Alaska, by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička and transmitted to the Bureau of American Ethnology. Iroquois ceremonial songs were recorded by J. N. B. Hewitt. The study of Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Maidu music and that of Santo Domingo Pueblo was under the auspices of the Southwest Museum of Los Angeles, Calif. A portion of the records made for the Southwest Museum were presented to the Bureau of American Ethnology after being transcribed. The remainder, and also the records made for the State Historical Society of North Dakota, were retained by the sponsors of the undertakings after the records had been transcribed and copies made for the Bureau. The writer's recordings, comprising more than 2,500 songs, constitute the Smithsonian-Densmore collection of Indian song recordings. They were transferred to the National Archives in 1940, where they were catalogued and where she wrote a handbook of the collection. In 1948 they were transferred to the Library of Congress, and she has selected songs that are now being issued in a series of 10 long-playing records, each accompanied by a descriptive pamphlet. These are available to the public.

Bob-tailed Wolf treats all forms of illness. Power has come to him in many dreams, was the first manifestation was connected with an experience in a thunderstorm. He but traveling on horseback when the storm arose. A bolt of lightning knocked him unconscious and killed his horse. On the fourth night after this occurrence, he had a dream in which he was told how to treat the sick. The day was clear when he recorded that song for the writer, but within an hour the rain was falling heavily. He said this always happened when he sang this song. The word "grandfather" occurring in the song refers to the Thunderbird. The song may be translated:

My grandfather has come to see me and taken pity on me and given me this power.

Another song recorded by Bob-tailed Wolf refers to the sun as "my grandfather." With his songs he uses a rattle made of stiff rawhide; a face is painted on one side, the handle is wrapped with deerskin, and formerly a buffalo tail was attached to it. Bob-tailed Wolf is a prominent member of the Peyote organization (Native American Church) and was photographed in his costume as a leader in its ceremony.

It is interesting to learn that a man holding such a high position and allied to such sources of supernatural power is also a man who "understands what babies say" and treats their small ailments. Bob-tailed Wolf says that when he is treating sick babies they tell him where they feel bad. He received his power with them in the following manner: One day he came upon a covey of little plovers hardly old enough to walk. He was about to take them away when the mother came and said, "Indian, don't take them; I love them and they are so pretty. If you will spare them I will give you power to treat sick babies." He accordingly refrained from taking the tiny birds and their mother told him to use water in treating sick babies, instructing him to apply it to their bodies and to use it without herbs. What appear to be words in his song for the babies are not real words and cannot be translated. He uses the rattle described above.



FIGURE 2.—Cheyenne song for sick babies, recorded by Bob-tailed Wolf.

Turtle, the other Cheyenne doctor, learned his songs from Dragging Otter, who had received them from an older doctor. His personal song, received from a buffalo, is sung "when the spirit of a sick person is in danger of departing." He says that when he sings this song, "a young buffalo stands in the way and tries to keep the spirit from going away." After recording the song, he made a sound of violent blowing in imitation of the buffalo; he always does this after singing the song for a sick person.

The Omaha treatment of a boy wounded by a pistol shot was witnessed by Francis La Flesche in his own boyhood.⁷ The "buffalo doctors" were summoned, and four leading doctors in succession sang their personal songs and administered their personal remedies. About 20 doctors, including 2 women, then joined in the songs. The treatment continued over a period of 4 days and was followed by a ceremony of recovery and the distribution of many gifts. It is said that the boy recovered in about a month. Two of the songs used on this occasion were published by La Flesche in musical notation.

Mention has been made of the Indian belief that spirit-animals cause various illnesses. This belief was found in a particularly interesting form among the Papago of southern Arizona, who included among causes of sickness the spirits of dead Papago and of Apache

⁷ Fletcher, Alice C., and La Flesche, Francis, *The Omaha tribe*, 27th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol., pp. 17-672, 1911.

slain in war. About 50 healing songs were recorded in this tribe. The bird, animal, or spirit which causes a disease is thought to impart songs and instruction for its cure to a certain doctor. It is the duty of a *sia'ticum*, or diagnostician, to decide the cause of the illness and refer the patient to the proper doctor. Songs are so closely connected with the illness that the diagnostician may say to a man with sore eyes, "Your trouble is caused by the quail. You had better go to So-and-so who knows the quail songs." If the patient does not improve, the diagnostician is held responsible and sends the sick man to another doctor. Sixteen diseases and ailments attributed to birds and animals were described, and songs used in the treatment of five were recorded, these being songs of the deer, badger, horned toad, rattlesnake, and brown lizard.

A Papago doctor, Owl Woman, was living at San Xavier in 1921 and treating sickness caused by Papago spirits. She used songs which they imparted to her and she believed that the spirits with whom she communed were spirits of dead Papago who followed the old customs. These spirits stayed near their graves during the day but went to the spirit land at night, traveling a road over which they had even taken her to that mysterious country. Many spirits had appeared to her, described their experiences, and given her songs. These songs were sung by an assistant while Owl Woman herself was engaged in the treatment of her patient. Several persons knew her songs, but she depended on Si-variano García, also a doctor, who lived near her and could be summoned at any time. For an entire day Owl Woman directed him in recording her songs for the writer.

Owl Woman always began a treatment with two songs given her by the spirit of a man who was killed near Tucson. As in many of her songs, the words are highly poetic. The first song ran:

Brown owls come here in the blue evening.
They are hooting about,
They are shaking their wings and hooting.

and the second:

How shall I begin my song in the blue night that is settling?
I will sit here and begin my song.

After four songs had been sung, she treated the sick man by stroking his body with a bunch of owl feathers on which she sprinkled ashes from his fire. The night was divided into four parts, each with its own songs.

José Panco, a Papago doctor, has treated the sick for 12 years, each year represented by a notch in the handle of the gourd rattle with which he accompanies the songs. Panco

$\text{♩} = 88$



FIGURE 3.—Papago healing song, recorded by Jose Panco.

Sandy Loam Fields, on top of these Elder
Brother (Montezuma) stands and sings.
Over our heads the clouds are seen, downy white
feathers gathered in a bunch.

recorded several songs, among them a song with two verses that he received from his grandfather. A deer gave this song to a hunter from Sandy Loam Fields, a native village. It is a gentle, pleasing melody and an excellent example of irregular rhythm.

Not far from the Papago Reservation, to the west, is the reservation of the Yuma and Cocopa. Charles Wilson, the leading Yuma doctor, recorded four songs that he used in treating men suffering from gunshot wounds in the chest. Each song has a special purpose. With the singing of the first song he expects the patient to regain consciousness. With the second he calls upon a small insect that lives in the water and is believed to have power over the fluids of the body; the purpose is to check the hemorrhage. The third mentions a lively insect, and with this song Wilson expects the patient to regain the power of motion. The fourth mentions a certain kind of buzzard that has white bars on its wings and flies so high that it cannot be seen by man. Wilson said, "Each of these insects does his best, but it is the buzzard whose great power gives the final impetus and cures the sick man."

A unique explanation of the cause and cure of sickness was given by Pa'gits, a doctor of the Northern Ute tribe, living on the high plateau at the base of the Uinta Mountains. He claimed to receive his power from "a little green man who lives in the mountains and shoots arrows into those who speak unkindly of him." Pa'gits said, "He tells me when he has shot an arrow. Then the man sends for me and pays me to get it out." In return for this cooperation he sometimes left a handkerchief or other small gift at the abode of the little green man in the mountains. Pa'gits said that he usually had to sing five or six times before he could extract the cause of the pain, which was sometimes an inch or two in length, red in color, and in texture like a fingernail. He recorded nine of his songs, which are very slow in tempo and have no words. He never took a case if he had any doubt of his ability to cure it.

A Sioux Indian on the prairie of North Dakota defined the limits of Indian therapy by saying that an Indian doctor "would not try to dream of all herbs and treat all diseases, for then he could not expect to succeed in all or to fulfill properly the dream of any one herb or animal. That is why our medicine-men lost their power when so many diseases came among us with the advent of the white men." Sioux songs were recorded in 1911-14.

Brave Buffalo was one of the most powerful doctors on the Standing Rock Reservation in Dakota. He related a dream in which a pack of wolves formed a circle around him; as they stood looking at him he noticed that their nostrils and paws were painted red, and then he lost consciousness. When he regained his senses, the wolves took him to a den on top of a high hill. The details of his dream are not of present interest, but the wolves gave him a song that he used in treating the sick. The words reflect the high regard which Indian doctors, who usually treat the sick at night, have for the owl:

Owls hooting in the passing of the night,
Owls hooting.

Another prominent doctor on this reservation was Eagle Shield, who had treated fractures for more than 40 years; he also treated wounds and general illnesses, and he ascribed his power to the bear and badger. He recorded 11 of his healing songs and brought specimens of the herbs used with them. Eagle Shield was also a warrior and had the right to wear the crowskin "necklace" which is the insignia of the Kang'yuha, or Crow-owners society, an important military society of the Plains tribes.

A primitive form of socialized medicine was found among the Makah and Clayoquot, two seafaring tribes living in northwest Washington and on the west coast of Vancouver Island. These tribes had an organization called the Sai'yuk society to which "everyone had to belong in order to have any standing in the tribe." One of its functions was to supply musical therapy to its members. A group of men and women would go to the house of the sick person, where they danced and sang. The songs were in pairs, the first accompanied by very rapid pounding on planks (a native form of percussion instrument) and the second by a measured beat on small drums, in the same tempo as the song. "Sometimes a pretty song would soothe the sick person and he would go to sleep." The power of the Sai'yuk included the healing of physical ills, and it was said that they cured a cripple who had been unable to walk for at least 10 years. They came and sang for him, and he lived in excellent health to an advanced age. He was a whaler, a vocation which requires strength and endurance. His daughter, Sarah Guy, said, "His reliance was on the songs and meetings of the Sai'yuk, but he sometimes took herb tea."

Songs of the Indians of British Columbia were recorded near Chilliwack, British Columbia, where about a thousand Indians were employed in a hop-picking camp. They

came from widely separated localities, including Vancouver Island and the reservations on the west coast, Fort Simpson and the regions of the Nass, Skeena, and Babine Rivers in the north, and the country adjacent to the Fraser and Thompson Rivers. Many songs were recorded, and among them were 26 songs used in the treatment of the sick. These were recorded by eight singers from various parts of British Columbia and Vancouver Island. John Butcher and Tasalt recorded songs that they were using in their treatment of the sick, and other songs were recorded chiefly by sons and grandsons of old men who treated the sick. The younger men had learned the songs when singing with them. One of these songs contains the words, "The whale is going to help me cure this sick man."

John Butcher, whose native name may be translated Dawn, lives at Lytton, on the Thompson River, and treats illnesses of a general character. The four songs he recorded are those he uses in a confinement case. In one song he talks to a sturgeon and a bird, and in the others to the seal, grizzly bear, deer, and eagle.

Tasalt has inherited his name from a remote past and does not know its meaning. He lives on the Fraser River and is commonly known as Catholic Tommy. When the writer's work was explained, he said that he would record his four songs for the treatment of smallpox, fever, palsy, hemorrhage from the lungs and pneumonia. These were preceded by a long introductory song. The songs were ascribed to mythical spirits; one was said to live in the water and to resemble a dog. It had a golden breast and golden eyes. Another was received from a "wild spirit" that he could not describe. He said these spirits went away when the White men came. Each song has its own characteristics and the rhythms are varied. The tempo is slowest in the song for pneumonia and most rapid in the song for palsy.

The members of the Chippewa Midéwiwin continue the treatment which they were using for the sick when Hoffman heard their songs in 1889. The writer talked with one of these men in August 1945. He was Joe Pete of Lac Vieux Desert, Mich. Two of his recent cures, with singing, were related (cf. pp. 442-444.)

These examples will suffice to show the close relation between music and medicine among the Indians and the deep faith of these primitive peoples in the healing power of music. The White man has developed his own methods of musical therapy, but in isolated places the Indian doctor still sings the songs that come to him in dreams, while his patients listen and recover.

TECHNIQUE IN THE MUSIC OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

Music should be recognized as a phase of the culture of the American Indian. When this is done, we are ready to look for standards of excellence as in other phases of culture. These are not found as easily in music as in such arts as pottery and basketry. The Indians cannot describe their music in detail and little beyond a general knowledge is gained by listening to the singing at ceremonies, games, and dances. Information must be gained by patient investigation and the Indian often tells a great deal when he is unconscious that he is giving important facts.

The present consideration will be limited to technique in the singing of the Indians except when the tempo of the song is different from that of the accompanying instrument. An interesting study could be made of the Indian technique in drumming and the use of other percussion instruments, as well as the more primitive forms of accompaniment, such as clapping the hands. These, as well as whistles and other wind instruments, are familiar to students of Indian music.

The following are phases of technique that are common to many tribes:

Tone production.—The Indian produces his singing tone by a peculiar action of the muscles of his mouth and throat. The writer once sang a Chippewa song for Maiñ'gans who had recorded it and asked him if it was correct. He replied, "The tune is right but you haven't an Indian *throat*." That is the fundamental element in the old Indian singing and cannot be imitated successfully by a white person, neither is it heard in the singing of young, educated Indians. By the use of this peculiar technique an Indian could separate the tones of his song without the use of words or syllables. He could produce

note values as short as 32d notes with distinctness. Among the old Chippewa a peculiar, artificial tone was used in love songs and in no other songs except those of the scalp dance. It is a nasal, whining tone, with a gliding from one pitch to another, and the old love songs can be recognized by this mannerism. It has been compared to the sound produced by an animal and also to an imitation of the sound of a wind instrument. The writer recorded numerous love songs prior to 1911 that were sung with this technique, by both man and women.

A different tone production is used by men who sing around the drum at dances. Theirs is a piercing quality of tone that can be heard a long distance. A similar quality of tone is used by men who make the announcements each evening in a large camp. Such a man was once brought in to make a recording with the statement that he was more than a hundred years old. The writer expected to hear a weak voice, but his voice was astounding in its volume and force.

Some men can sing in falsetto, and there are men who have their own manner of tone production that is admired. Thus songs were obtained in 1911 from a young Chippewa who came down from Canada to Red Lake, in Minnesota, to attend a celebration. He sang with a peculiar throaty *vibrato* and said that he discovered his ability to do this as a child and had cultivated it ever since. It is heard in the records of his songs.

Use of words.—This custom differs in various regions. For example, the Chippewa use few words in their songs—only enough to indicate the idea. One of their old songs is in honor of a warrior named *Cimau'ganic* and the only words were translated "*Cimau'ganic* killed in war." In such a song the name of a popular hero may replace that of an old warrior, the words of praise remaining the same. Such words generally occur in the middle of the melody, the remainder of the tones being sung with the native tone production requiring no words. In contrast, the songs of Santo Domingo Pueblo contain words through the length of the melody, often describing in detail a custom, such as that of bringing in a harvest of corn from the field.

Accuracy in repeating a melody.—In certain ceremonial songs it is required that a song be repeated if there is the slightest mistake in its rendition. The writer has recorded many repetitions of dance songs in which there was not the slightest difference. This custom, however, is not universal. In a series of renditions of a song by a good singer there are often short, passing tones and by-tones. These are permissible to a good singer, as in our own race. In one tribe many differences were noticed in the renditions and the singer was asked to record the song only *once*. He did so, and a simple melody was heard instead of the rather elaborate versions that he had been recording. In reply to the writer's question he said that he intended to sing it a little differently every time and that his ability to do so was a mark of his skill as a singer. This has not been found elsewhere.

Improvisation.—This custom has been recorded in only one tribe, but was connected with folk stories which have not been a subject of special study. It was found among the Northern Ute and several examples were recorded. In these instances the entire folk tale was sung instead of spoken. The melodies contained no rhythmic units nor repetitions of phrases yet the singing of each story had an individuality that was, in some way, characteristic of the actors in the tale. Thus a story about the prairie dogs was expressed in an *agile* melody and the song about the bear who stole the wolf's wife was sung to a slow simple melody. The story about the wolf's little children who won a race was sung to a, melody with a compass of 11 tones, moving freely within that compass. Three of these songs were recorded by an aged woman who said that she learned them from her mother, up in the canyon. When she was a little girl, her mother sang them to her and told her of the time when "the wolves were people." An additional song of this sort was recorded by another woman who was known as Fanny Provo, but no others were found.

Difference in tempo of voice and drum.—In many recorded songs the tempo (metric unit) of the voice is not the same as that of the drum. A singer may sing in one tempo and beat the drum in a different tempo, or he may sing in one tempo while the drum is beaten in a different tempo by another Indian. In a comparative analysis of 60 old and 62 comparatively modern Sioux songs, the tempo of voice and drum was different in 31 songs of the former group and in only 15 songs of the latter group. A similar comparison was not made in any other tribe.

Change of pitch-level during renditions of a song.—This peculiarity was found to the largest extent in the songs of Santo Domingo Pueblo, N. Mex., though it occurred also in songs of the Yuma in southern Arizona, the Makah in Neah Bay, Wash., and the Winne-

bago in Wisconsin. This peculiarity has been widely noted in primitive music and mentioned by writers on that subject. After noting the rise in pitch-level in many Santo Domingo songs, the singer was asked whether it was intentional. He replied without hesitation, "Yes that is the way my grandfather taught me to do when he taught me the songs." He added that the rise in pitch-level was used in the old war songs. In some songs the pitch-level was gradually lowered, the change in both instances being about a semi-tone, after which the new pitch-level was sustained to the end of the performance.

Certain mannerisms are connected with various classes of songs. Thus the dancing songs of the Sioux Sun Dance were sung with a "jiggling" tone. This was heard also in recordings of similar songs by the Northern Ute. The Choctaw of Mississippi use different "shouts" with each class of dance songs. This may be a form of the "hollering" that is a custom of Negro singing and was designated by that name among the Seminole of Florida. Similar "shouts" have not been heard in songs of northern tribes. The syllables "*ho ho ho ho*" are heard in the Chippewa songs of the Midéwiwin, occurring during the songs and between renditions. Similar sounds are made by medicine men when treating the sick. War songs in many tribes may be interrupted by sharp cries or explosive sentences, and similar cries may follow the songs. In some widely separated tribes the labial *m*, with the lips closed, is heard during portions of the song. It is apart from the purpose of this brief paper to document the foregoing statements which are described in various books by the present writer, but their occurrence shows a degree of technique among Indians and limited standards of excellence in their musical performances.

The intention of the writer's work has been to discover what music means to the Indian and to describe it from his standpoint. In that work it is necessary to use musical terms that are familiar to musicians of our own race, though they are not accurate. Music is a source of pleasure to Indians, and skill according to their standards is appreciated and honored, but music to them, in its highest sense, is connected with power and with communication with the mysterious forces that control all human life. In that, even more than in the sound of the singing, lies the real difference between the music of the American Indian and that of our own race.

THE BELIEF OF THE INDIAN IN A CONNECTION BETWEEN SONG AND THE SUPERNATURAL

An important phase of Indian music is known as the dream song, which is common to many tribes. These songs are not composed but are said to come to the mind of the Indian when he has placed himself in a receptive attitude. To this extent the source of the song is not unlike the inspiration sometimes experienced by composers of our own race, but the use of the song is entirely different. Our composer regards the song as a possible source of applause or wealth while the Indian connects it with mysterious power. An old Indian said to the writer, "If a man is to do something beyond human power, he must have more than human strength." Song is a means through which that strength is believed to come to him.

In this, as in all close study of Indians, the student is hampered by lack of an adequate vocabulary and a knowledge of the idioms of the Indian language. A careful interpreter is necessary, with many patient conferences between the interpreter and the Indian as well as with the student, but the result is worth the effort. For example, if the Indian uses a word meaning "spirit" and it is interpreted as "*a* spirit," the significance is changed and there enters the concept of a material form, so the presence of a spirit may be assumed when it is not in the mind of the Indian. On one occasion the writer was questioning Lone Man, a trusted Sioux informant and singer, concerning information received from a pipe. He was asked whether a spirit entered into the pipe and gave the information. He replied this was not the case, saying that under certain conditions a pipe might "become sacred" and speak to the Indian. Among the Sioux Indians the term "*wa'kaŋ*" is used in referring to any mystery. The term "Great Spirit" is commonly used as the English equivalent of the Sioux word "*wakaŋ'taŋka*," which consists of two adjectives, *wa'kaŋ*, "mysterious" and *taŋ'ka*, "great." Throughout the writer's work the term "*wakaŋ*"

taŋka" is used.¹ In old times this word was not used in ordinary conversation, as it was held too sacred to be spoken except with reverence and at a proper time. That which remains unspoken must be considered in any study of Indian thought, together with the fact that a "sacred language" is sometimes used, by which ideas can be conveyed between initiates without being understood by others.

To a white man the term "dream" is connected with unconsciousness, but the Indian term implies an acute awareness of something mysterious. Dreams and their songs may come to an Indian in natural sleep if his mind is conditioned to such an experience, but the first important dream comes to a young man in a fasting vigil. He is alone in some silent place, and his mind is passive, as he hopes for an impression to come to him from a mysterious source. The silence becomes vibrant, it becomes rhythmic, and a melody comes to his mind. This is his "dream song," his most individual possession. An aged man once recorded his dream song for the writer, then bowed his head and said tremulously that he thought he would not live long as he had parted with his most precious possession. The white musician composes songs addressed to his deity. The Indian waited and listened for the mysterious power pervading all nature to speak to him in song. The Indian realized that he was *part* of nature—not *akin* to it.

By means of his dream song and by performing certain acts a man might put himself again in contact with the mysterious powers seen in his dream. Others might know the song from hearing him sing it, but no results would follow if they had the temerity to sing it. Yet a man might share his song, its power and its benefits, if he so desired and if someone were willing to pay the price. A man once offered to record his song to bring rain, saying the writer could bring rain at any time by singing it and that he would still have power to do so. His price was \$50, and it is needless to say that his offer was declined. The dream songs of the warriors of former days are sometimes sung in the war dances, the name of the warrior being honored in this manner, and the dream songs of forgotten warriors may remain in use, the name of the warrior being lost and only the song remaining.

The bird or animal that appeared to the Indian in his dream was an embodiment, to some extent, of the power that he desired and, by his individual temperament, was best fitted to use. A dream of a bear was especially favored by those who treated the sick, as the bear has such good claws for digging herbs which it eats. With the song, a bear may reveal certain herbs to be used by the medicine man. The warrior may dream of a roving wolf, and the hunter may dream of a buffalo. The creature seen in the dream is often mentioned in the song and may be made known in the man's name. Brave Buffalo, a Sioux who recorded several songs for me, had his first dream when 10 years old and in that dream he saw a buffalo. His Sioux name was Tatan'ka-ohítika, meaning "Brave Buffalo Bull," but he was commonly known as Brave Buffalo. Later he dreamed of elk and wolves, and he recorded the songs received in these dreams.

Dreams concerning forms of nature may be regarded as more primitive than dreams concerning birds or animals, and songs are received from such powers. Such was the dream of a young man who lived to be an old warrior of the Pawnee. His name was Eagle. As a young man he was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke to him slowly and said, "Do not be afraid, your father is coming." He heard the thunder sing, learned the song, and sang it when he went to war.² The words are freely translated:

Beloved it is good,
He, the thunder, is saying quietly,
It is good.

The term "thunderbirds" is more familiar than the term that carries no implication of a material form. Two of the writer's Sioux singers had dreams in which the thunderbirds assumed the form of men riding on horses.³

Two Chippewa dream songs were concerning the wind. They were recorded by Ki' miwun, "Rainy," at the remote village of Waba'ciŋg, on Red Lake in Minnesota. They appear to be the dream songs of forgotten men, as no origin was ascribed to them.⁴ The

¹ Densmore, Frances, *Teton Sioux Music*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 61, p. 85. (1918).

² Densmore, Frances, *Pawnee Music*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 93, pp. 61, 62. (1929).

³ Densmore, Frances, *Teton Sioux Music*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 61, pp. 159, 170. (1918).

⁴ Densmore, Frances, *Chippewa Music—II*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 53, pp. 263, 271. (1913).

first was used in treating the sick and the words are evidently concerning the man's dream. They are translated:

As the wind is carrying me around the sky.

The use of the second song was not known, but it had come down from a former time and was still sung. The words are:

One wind, I am master of it.

A member of the Makah tribe, northwest Washington, related a dream in which the Southwest Wind appeared to him in the form of a man and sang a song, which he learned. This man was a prominent member of the tribe whose name was Young Doctor. He said the words of this song are not Indian words—they are in no known language, and he called it the "wind language."⁵

Passing from songs of the thunder and the wind, we turn to a song of the Yaqui concerning a simpler manifestation of nature. The Yaqui songs were recorded at Guadalupe Village, near Phoenix, Ariz., in 1922. These Indians were citizens of Mexico and preserved many of their tribal customs including the Deer Dance. The songs of this dance are concerning the actions of various birds and animals but one is of special interest. The words were translated, "The bush is sitting under the tree and singing." The interpreter explained that the last word was correctly translated as "singing," but that it referred to the putting forth of magic power. The bush, "sitting under the tree," shared in the power that pervades the universe.⁶

It is customary for a man to wear or carry some article connected with his dream which shows its general subject, though he may not reveal all its details. A song of the Sioux Sun Dance mentions the wearing of certain symbols as a requirement of a dream. This song was recorded by Red Bird on the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota, in 1912.⁷ It was sung at a Sun Dance by the Intercessor, during one of the periods when the dancers rested, the people listening attentively. In explanation, Red Bird said that the Intercessor, in his dream, saw the rising sun with rays streaming out around it. He made an ornament which represented this and wore it. The ornament is a hoop with feathers fastened lightly to it. The hoop represents the sun and the feathers fastened to it are the feathers of the eagle, which is the bird of day; the crane, which is the bird of night; and the hawk, which is the bird of prey. The words were:

(First rendition)

The sun is my friend,
A hoop it has made me wear,
An eagle it has made me wear.

(Second rendition)

The moon is my friend,
A crane it has made me wear,
A hawk it has made me wear.

The use of music in the treatment of the sick has been a subject of special study by the writer in many tribes, and the songs used in such treatment have been recorded, together with the dreams in which they had their origin. The man who recorded the largest number of such healing songs was Eagle Shield, a Sioux who recorded nine songs that he used in his own practice. His specialty was the treatment of fractures, and he recorded a song that he sang four times "while getting ready to apply the medicine." Most of his remedies for adults were received from a bear, and one song contained the words "bear told me about all these things." Certain procedures were often part of his treatment and one of his songs was sung only three times when administering a certain herb. His remedies for children were received from the badger and there were no songs with these remedies.

A study of the dream song in many tribes reveals the place that song occupied in the life of the American Indians. They had their songs with games, dances, legends, and folk stories but those phases of their music were apart from its chief function—their communication with the supernatural, through which they believed that they could secure aid in every undertaking.

⁵ Densmore, Frances, *Nootka and Quileute Music*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 124, p. 256. (1939).

⁶ Densmore, Frances, *Yuman and Yaqui Music*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 110, p. 162. (1932).

⁷ Densmore, Frances, *Teton Sioux Music*, Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 61, p. 139. (1918).

THE POETRY OF INDIAN SONGS

Another important aspect of Miss Densmore's writing was her interest in poetry. From her earliest years she wrote in this media and in 1917 published privately her *Poems from Sioux and Chippewa Songs*. The introduction to this booklet explains her purpose and she often wrote "these are a real experiment." She sent me the book early in 1943, and the poems are reprinted here with her permission, which she gave at the time she presented me with the volume and a package of unpublished poems. Many of these published poems have appeared in numerous anthologies.* A tribute to such writing was given by Kenneth Rexroth in his book *Assays* (1961). The article "*The Poetry of Indian Songs*," which appeared in 1939 and which Miss Denmore thought representative,** follows.

Rhythm, beauty, and mystery surrounded the life of the American Indian. These have inspired and molded the poetry of mankind from ancient time, and the Indian poet is akin to the poets of the whole world. His poetry is linked to his music more closely than the poetry of races with a written language, for it was necessarily transmitted and preserved by musicians. One of the pleasures felt by the Indians when listening to their songs is the pleasure of hearing the familiar words, with their subtle imagery and native allusion. We are in danger of losing this quality if we enlarge upon or try to paraphrase the words of an Indian song, properly translated. The charm vanishes. All poetry is based upon intuition, and Indian poetry, like the best poetry of our own race, is larger than the common facts of everyday life. It casts around them "the light that never was on land or sea," and we feel what is beneath and beyond the words. Le Gallienne said that "Poetry . . . embodies the exaltation, the beauty, the rhythm and the pathetic truth of life."

Indian music was never performed in order to win applause. Rituals were chanted while the people listened in reverent silence. Songs were sung to bring rain, that the crops might be abundant, or to call the animals that the people needed for food. The medicine men sang to cure the sick or to make the warriors successful so that the tribe might be protected. The American Indian did not sing about himself or his feelings. The love song, as we use the term, was not native in any of the tribes that I have studied. The old Indians "sang of arms and of a hero," or cast their poetry in the archetype of an epic telling of the travels of a superbeing, or interpreted the facts of nature as viewed by a contemplative mind.

The rituals form an extended subject and are apart from present consideration. Indian songs, which are my special study, contain few words, usually occurring in the middle of the melody. An Indian song with continuous words occurs seldom except among the Pueblo. When the words of an Indian song are translated literally, they often seem to resemble the old poems of China and Japan. In the narrow limits of this paper I shall draw upon material personally collected during my study of Indian music for the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, quoting from unpublished as well as published material.

It is my custom to choose my interpreter with great care, and to encourage him to give me the simplest, clearest meanings of words, adding only such words as may be necessary to convey the meaning. A final translation is always submitted to the interpreter for approval. It is not always possible to have the translation "make sense," neither is this necessary if we admit the greatness of the best Indian poetry. Plato said of the poets, "They utter great and wise things which they themselves do not understand." Symbolism, so commonly associated with the Indian, is deeper than material equivalents and extends

*See A. Grove Day, *The Sky Clears* (1951), Margot Astrov, *The Winged Serpent* (1946), and Gerald Robert Vizenor, *Summer in the Spring* (1965), among others.

** From *So Live the Works of Men*, edited by Donald D. Brand and Fred E. Harvey, University of New Mexico Press, (1939), pp. 121-130.

into the field of psychology. The poetry of the American Indian is rooted in human intuition and prophecy, and is based upon an interpretation of nature and the highest phases of life.

The Makah Indians, long ago, sang to their babies about the life that awaited them, even as Polish mothers "with a song of Poland's glory wakened Poland's child." The Makah, living at Neah Bay, Washington, were hunters of the whale and seal, going far into the open ocean in quest of them. The oldest medicine man of the tribe, Young Doctor by name, recorded a song which he said was sung many years ago. An old man would take a baby boy in his arms and sing the song, after which the child's father would reward the singer with food. This is the song, and in its dignity and pathos is the prophecy of all human life.

My little son,
You will put a sealing spear into your canoe without
knowing what use you may make of it when you are
a man.

Among the Papago Indians one of my singers was Owl Woman who treated the sick, using songs that she "received from spirits of the dead." Three songs were given her by the spirit of José Gomez. In these, as in many similar songs, the spirit tries to tell its experiences after leaving the body. The words of one song are:

In the great night my heart will go out.
Toward me the darkness comes rattling,
In the great night my heart will go out.

The word "rattling" was said to be a literal translation. To us the word means simply a noise, which darkness could scarcely make, but the sound of a rattle is associated with magic and mystery in the mind of the Indian. In quoting this poem, George Cronyn substitutes the word "rustling" for "rattling,"¹ but this is not a synonym. It is gentle and soft in its implication, and there is no vigor in the corresponding verb. This is the song of a terrified spirit, facing the greatest mystery that the mind can conceive. The subject is worthy of Dante. In the "great night" the spirit heard sounds of fearful and stupendous import. The darkness "came rattling."

The beauty of night on the Arizona desert is reflected in the following, which is one of the songs with which Owl Woman begins her treatment of the sick:

How shall I begin my song
In the blue night that is settling?
I will sit here and begin my song.

Sunrise and the late setting of the moon form the subject of the next song, used by a Papago medicine man of the long past when treating the sick. It is presented with enough additional words to clarify the meaning. In it we find mention of a bow and the materials for making arrows, while beside the latter are plump gray clouds whose tumbling suggests little animals, unsteady on their feet. The last line is often used in Indian speech.

The sun is rising,
At either side a bow is lying,
Beside the bows are lion-babies,
The sky is pink,
That is all.

The moon is setting,
At either side are bamboos for arrow-making,
Beside the bamboos are wildcat babies,
They walk uncertainly,
That is all.

A charming song of the Chippewa was translated by the Rev. C. H. Beaulieu, a member of the tribe, who said that the native words did not mention any visible sign of spring, yet the singer "felt it in the air," with a promise of summer. His translation, carefully made, was as follows:

As my eyes search the prairie
I feel the summer in the spring.

¹ Cronyn, George W., *Path on the Rainbow*, p. 357.

Probably a person unfamiliar with early spring in northern Minnesota would not realize the subtlety of this translation, as Mary Austin, when quoting it, changed it, to read thus:

As my eyes search the prairie
I seem to see the summer in the spring.²

George Cronyn quotes it without change.³

The Papago have a ceremony called the *Vikita* for the purpose of securing rain and good crops. Among its songs were the two following, recorded by Mattias Encinas, who received them in dreams:

1. Green Rock mountains are thundering with clouds.
With this water the Akim village is shaking.
The water will come down the arroyo and I will float on the water.
Afterward the corn will ripen in the fields.
2. Close to the west the great ocean is singing,
The waves are rolling toward me, covered with many clouds.
Even here I catch the sound.
The earth is shaking beneath me and I hear the deep rumbling.

From a Papago ceremony for young girls, addressed as *Cowaka*, we present the following as an example of a poem with veiled meaning:

A poor man takes the songs in his hand and drops them
near the place where the sun sets.
See, Cowaka, run to them and take them in your hand
and place them under the sunset.

War has inspired more poems, perhaps, than the beauty of nature, and we find notable poems of war among Indian songs. To understand these we must know something of Indian customs. The Chippewa compared war to the game of lacrosse, with the heads of the enemy as the balls. In the thud of feet on the prairie, as the warriors advanced, he heard the pound of the players' feet in the familiar game, and sang:

The noise of passing feet on the prairie,
They are playing a game as they come, those men.

Another of his war songs contained only the words:

They will be flying, my balls.

One of the songs of the Sioux, before the departure of a war party, reflects the calm and dignity of that tribe. By it the old warrior would inspire and steady the young men going on their first expedition. The words are:

Friends,
The many lands you fear,
In them without fear I have walked,
The black face paint I seek.

The black paint was worn by the first warrior who killed an enemy. He wore this paint in the victory dance that followed the return of the war party, thus making known to all the tribe his success in winning the coveted prize.

The religious poetry of the Indians may be divided into an expression of collective and personal feeling. To the former belong the rituals, which are not under consideration, to the latter belong the large number of songs received in dreams, which it has been my privilege to record. In the words of these songs I do not find the element of propitiation that is often associated with Indian "religion." Instead I find reverence and respect, with an underlying belief in the friendliness of the supernatural powers that are being approached. This is indicated by the attitude of many songs and directly stated in others.

I once asked an old Chippewa whether the presence of waves on a lake which the Indians wished to cross was a sign of anger on the part of the Water Spirit. He replied these were

² Austin, Mary, *American Rythm*, p. 56.

³ Cronyn, George W., *op. cit.*, p. 23.

not a sign of anger, as "it is natural that there should be waves and rough weather as well as smooth water, but if the Water Spirit is asked by the right person he can quiet the waves at that time so the people can proceed in safety." It was a matter of having a friend at court. Under such circumstances the leader of the party would ask, "Is there anyone here who can ask a favor of the Water Spirit?" If the party included such a man, he would make his request in the proper manner and it is said that the waves would subside. An intelligent Indian once expressed the opinion that friendly gifts to spirits might sometimes be mistaken for propitiatory offerings. Another said he never had heard that the powers of nature were unfriendly to man and did not see how that could be, as everything the Indians possessed was a gift from nature. A phrase frequently used by the Chippewa, when referring to the spirits, is, "they have taken pity on me," the significance being like that of the Biblical word "compassion," which suggests a beneficent action by one with superior power. Without entering further into this matter, we present a Sioux song, received in a dream and sung in the Sun Dance:

The sun is my friend,
A hoop it has made me wear,
An eagle it has made me wear.

The moon is my friend,
A crane it has made me wear,
A hawk it has made me wear.

The Chippewa medicine man sang:

To me he listens,
One manido.

Familiarity with the powerful bear spirit, the special helper of medicine men, is shown in this Chippewa song:

The big bear,
To his lodge I go often.

We sometimes forget, in these days of archaeological research that poetry, as well as stone, lives through the ages. Some of the poems in the Old Testament are as old as the pyramids. While we cannot claim such antiquity for the poems of the Indians, we find, in many Indian songs, a mention or reference that establishes the age of the song. For example, I recently recorded a Choctaw song expressing hatred for the "Folanche" and "Hispano." The Indian who recorded the song did not know what the words meant but offered it as a very old song. He did not know how many years had passed since the French and Spaniards fought the Indians in what is now the state of Mississippi.

A medicine woman of the Seminole in Florida recorded a song which she uses in treating sick babies. The words are:

The dog has no death,
The sick baby is drinking from the dog that has no death.

The words seemed unexplainable until, a few weeks later, I was reading Shaw's translation of the *Odyssey* of Homer and, in Vol. VII, I found the mention of the "age-less, undying watch-dogs." Colonists from Greece and the Mediterranean Islands were brought to Florida at an early date. Did they tell the tales of their homeland to Indians who preserved this phrase? In some Seminole melodies there is a "Scotch lilt," and at an early date there were Scotch settlers in contact with the Indians of what is northern Florida. The typical folk-pattern of English songs has been found among recordings on the north-west coast, where the English explorers went centuries ago, singing the songs of England in a strange land.

The oldest poetry of the Indians is parallel with their unwritten literature and this, in turn, is paralleled by the ancient literature of the human race. Winabojo (Nanabozho and Manabush) is like the "lovable fool" of German mythology, and many are the songs associated with this interesting character. Most ancient of all, however, is the epic of the traveler. A recent writer says, "every one of the great epics contains, among other things, a great voyage. The trail of the wanderer is over them all, the archetypal trail."⁴

⁴ Bacon, Leonard, in "The Ancient Well," *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1936, p. 61.

Among the Papago Indians I recorded many songs connected with Elder Brother, also called Montezuma. After telling the old legends, the Papago told me how Elder Brother led the people out of Ashes Hill. There were many songs in this story. As Elder Brother looked upon the swaying crowd that followed him on the journey, he told them what he thought they resembled, singing this song about them:

Downy white feathers are moving beneath the
sunset and along the edge of the world.

The people asked him the names of the mountains, and he gave names to one mountain after another. This is a song in which he gave a name to a mountain:

Here on our way we see the distant mountain,
See, the mountain far from us that has the cloud is
Raven Mountain.

The Papago story of the journey of two boys which led to the making of the first flute was replete with songs.

In the Yuma tribe, the journey of the Wonder Boy yielded many songs, forming a subject too large for present consideration. The Yuma songs include those of the journey of the deer "down from the source of the Colorado River." Their poetry is especially charming, and we can understand the pleasure of the people in listening to such songs as these, selected from the series:

1. The water bug is drawing the shadows of the
evening toward him on the water.
2. The howling coyote took up common dirt and scattered it
toward the sky.
He caused the dirt to become stars and the rainbow.
3. The little blackbirds are singing this song as they
dance around the four corners of the sky.
4. The owl was requested to do as much as he knew how.
He only hooted and told of the morning star, and hooted
again and told of the dawn.

A consideration of Indian poetry would not be complete without a quotation from the Pueblo, and I present an Acoma song which was recorded by Philip Sanche and translated by Wilbur Hunt, of the same tribe.

Song Concerning Laguna Lake

There was once on the west side of Laguna,
On the lower west side,
A bowl like that in which the medicine man mixes herbs
and water,
It used nicely to produce cattails, plants and pollen,
It used nicely to draw the raingods to paint it with
sprinkling rain, making a picture of the rain.
Now here above us, from the north direction, the duck
raingods fly.
They are looking for the medicine bowl west of Laguna.
Alas! A sad calamity has happened,
Pitiful it is.
Now here about us from the south direction the
winter wrens come.
The birds are white and in their flight they look like
clouds.
They are looking for the medicine bowl west of Laguna.
Alas! A sad calamity has happened,
Pitiful it is.

In my observation, the form of Indian poetry is decided by the form of the melody, whether it be a single phrase, suggesting the Japanese, or a long series of words extending throughout the song. We lose the melody rhythm in a literal translation, though we recognize the importance of rhythm in Indian music. It is not only important but expressive.

For this reason, several years ago, I made verses on the note-for-note rhythm of Indian songs, using the words or description of the song as a basis. While making no claim for these verses as poetry, the experiment was interesting and presents the translation in the rhythm that the Indian hears when the song is sung.

Long ago a Sioux woman sang a song with these words, which, it is said, represent the nearest Sioux approach to a love song: "You may go on the warpath, when your name I hear, then I will marry you." The words are continuous throughout the melody and are in the rhythm of the following verses, with their lively, yet dignified meter:

Go thou forth with the warriors,
Go thou forth to war;
Go thou forth with the warriors,
When I hear the crier shout your name with the victors,
Then, ah then, I will marry you.

I will stay in the village,
I will sit with the women
All day making moccasins,
Listening always for the signal cry that the warriors come.
Then, ah then, I will marry you.

A taunting rhythm is in the song of a man who saw the buffalo in a dream and received their assurance that he was invulnerable. It is the song of Brave Buffalo, a Sioux medicine man, who put his dream to the test and the whole tribe came to see it. Many shot arrows at him, and later the test was repeated with guns, but he said that he was unharmed. He did not record any words, as he said the words "were in his heart." The verse expresses his defiance, with a mention of his dream:

You cannot harm me,
You cannot harm one who has dreamed a dream like mine,
One who has seen the buffalo in their mighty lodge
and heard them say,
"Arrows cannot harm you now."

This rhythmic test was applied to many sorts of Chippewa and Sioux songs, verses being made in the melody-rhythm.

In closing this paper I wish to express my appreciation of the services of many interpreters who have chosen their English words as an artist chooses the colors on his palette. I cannot but regret the poetry that has been lost, in many tribes, for the lack of such men and women, some of whom were trained at the Carlisle Institute and others by teachers at Hampton Institute. Many times I have paid silent tribute to those forgotten teachers who labored faithfully with their Indian pupils. They helped the study of Indian music, for it would be incomplete without a recognition of the beauty and charm of Indian poetry.

POEMS FROM SIOUX AND CHIPPEWA SONGS

This was published privately in Washington, D. C., in 1917.

Introduction

Music and poetry are as closely allied in the Indian race as in our own, and the words of many Indian songs are characterized by true poetic thought. A literal translation of these words conveys to us the poetic element, but in such a translation we lose the element of rhythm. In a majority of Indian songs the rhythm is irregular and the native words follow this rhythm, a custom different from our own, in which the music follows the rhythm of the words. The poems herewith offered are the result of an effort to express the poetic concepts of the Sioux and Chippewa songs in their original rhythms.

The songs which form the basis of this work were recorded phonographically in connection with the study of Indian music which for many years the writer has been making under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. The inspiration of the poems was a desire to ascertain whether the rhythm of a song is expressive of its idea. This point having been established, there came a desire to test the poetic quality of Indian songs by offering the verses themselves to those who in this manner may consider them apart from the music.

As already indicated, each poem is in the rhythm of a song. In some instances, the words are continuous throughout the song, and in these, the poem resembles a rhythmic paraphrase of the literal translation; in others, the words were so few that it became necessary to elaborate the idea in order that the words should fill the melody, adding such facts or concepts as are known to be associated with the song; while a third class of songs contains no words, and in these instances the poem embodies the statements of Indians concerning the origin or use of the song.

The literal translations are shown for the purpose of comparison. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Mr. Robert Higheagle, a graduate of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, who translated the Sioux words, and to Mrs. Mary Warren English and Rev. C. H. Beaulieu, members of the Chippewa tribe, who translated the words of the Chippewa songs. These literal translations and the descriptions of songs are used by permission of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

No. 1. *Behold*
(Sioux)

This is a ceremonial song of the Sioux Sun Dance, the three verses being sung by a leader in the ceremony. The literal translation of the words is as follows:

"Where holy you behold, in the place where the sun rises, holy may you behold. Where holy you behold; in the place where the sun passes us on his course, holy you behold. Where goodness you behold at the turning back of the sun, goodness may you behold."

To the east turn, O tribe,
There to behold
The place where the sun rises,
Clad in glorious majesty.
Something holy may you behold
In this mystery.

To the south turn, O tribe,
There to behold
The place where the sun passes us
In his daily course.
Something holy may you behold
In this mystery.

To the west turn, O tribe,
There to behold
The place where the sun turns back
In glorious splendor.
Goodness may you behold
In all this mystery.

No. 2. *Song at Sunrise*
(Sioux)

This also is a song of the Sun Dance and was sung by the leader as the sun rose on the second day of the ceremony.

Literal translation: "Here am I, behold me. I am the sun, behold me."

The rising sun in the east shining,
Speaketh to us in his glorious splendor,
"I am the sun; see me in my rising.
Lo, I am the sun,
Behold with blinded eyes,
I am the sun!"

No. 3. *Song of a Medicine-man*
(Sioux)

Literal translation: "At night may I roam; against the winds may I roam; when the owl is hooting may I roam."

In the night may I roam,
In the night may I roam,
Afar, afar in the night may I roam.
Against the wind of morning may I roam,
In the night may I roam,
When the owl is heard hooting, hooting,
May I roam, may I roam.

No. 4. *The Challenge*
(Sioux)

This is a personal song of Brave Buffalo, a Sioux medicine-man, who received it in a dream. Because of this dream he believed himself invulnerable and asked the people to shoot their arrows at him as a test. No words were sung, Brave Buffalo saying that "the words were in his heart." The poem embodies, to some extent, the story of the dream, as well as the medicine-man's challenge.

"You cannot harm me,
You cannot harm
One who has dreamed a dream like mine,
One who has seen the buffalo in their mighty lodge
And heard them say,
'Arrows cannot harm you now!
We will protect you;
We will protect
One who has been in the buffalo lodge,
One who has seen us,
One who has looked without fear upon our mysteries,
Bid them shoot their arrows straight,
Bid them shoot their arrows straight.'"

No. 5. *My Dream*
(Sioux)

This also is a song of Brave Buffalo, who said that he received it in a dream of a buffalo and by it received power to engage in the practice of medicine.

The literal translation of the words is: "'I will appear, behold me!' a buffalo said to me."

When I was but a child,
I dreamed a wondrous dream.
I went upon a mountain;
There I fell asleep.
I heard a voice say,
"Now will I appear to you."
A buffalo said this to me, dreaming.
When I was but a child,
I dreamed this wondrous dream.

No. 6. *Night Song of a Medicine-man*
(Sioux)

This is a third song of Brave Buffalo, who said he received it in a dream of wolves and used it in treating the sick. It was his custom to sing this song every night.

Literal translation: "Owls (were) hooting in the passing of the night. Owls (were) hooting."

The owls hooting softly, the owls hooting low,
The owls hooting softly, while dark shadows go,
The owls hooting softly, the owls hooting low,
In the passing of the night, the owls hooting low,
In the gray dawn of morning, the owls hooting low,
To whom are they calling, I wish I could know.

No. 7. *Song of the Warrior*
(Sioux)

This song was sung before the departure of a war-party. A successful warrior had the right to paint his face black, this paint being worn during the dances which followed his return from war.

Literal translation: "Friends, the many lands you fear, in them without fear I have walked. The black face-paint I seek."

O, my friends, as I stand
Here before you all assembled,
I hear you sing of the lands where the warriors travel.
O, my friends, the many lands that you fear,
In them all without fear I have walked.

O, my friends, even now
I can see the distant mountains
Where the snows never melt in the summer time.
O, my friends, I have walked without fear in those lands,
For there I sought the black face-paint.

To the west and the north
Lies the country of the enemy.
In all those lands I have walked without fear of harm.
O, my friends, in them all I have won the right to wear
The warrior's badge of victory.

No. 8. *Old Sioux Love Song*
(Sioux)

Concerning love songs, it was said among the Sioux that "in the old days all the love songs were associated with a man's qualification to wed, this being determined by his success in war or in the buffalo hunt."

Literal translation of the Sioux words: "You may go on the war-path. When your name I hear (announced among the victors), then I will marry you."

Go thou forth with the warriors,
Go thou forth to war;
Go thou forth with the warriors,
When I hear the Crier shout your name with the victors,
Then, ah then, I will marry you.

I will stay in the village,
I will sit with the women
All day making moccasins,
Listening always for the signal cry that the warriors come,
Then, ah then, I may marry you.

No. 9. *A Warrior to His Horse*
(Sioux)

This is the personal song of Lone Man, who received it in a dream and sang it in time of danger, believing it to have supernatural power.

Literal translation: "Friends, my horse, behold it. 'Friends, my horse will run, behold it,' was said to me, Friends, my horse flying (as it were), is running." In this instance the idea is slightly changed, but it expresses a Sioux custom.

My horse be swift in flight
Even like a bird;
My horse be swift in flight,
Bear me now in safety
Far from the enemy's arrows,
And you shall be rewarded
With streamers and ribbons red.

No. 10 *The Warrior's Vow*
(Chippewa)

In this instance no words were sung, and the poem presents a war custom. The melody, with whose rhythm the poem conforms, is that of a song which was used in the war dances.

The feast is spread;
The leader now is telling his men
Where they will go,
What enemy tribe they will attack.
Seated round their leader,
Hear them respond, "Ho, ah ho, ho, ho!"

The feast is done;
The warriors stand making their vow
Not to retreat from where they will see
A lance in the ground
There they must fight or fall.
Hear them respond, "Ho, ah ho, ho, ho!"

In distant lands
The warriors brave enter the fray;
Thick fly the arrows, while overhead
Shineth the lance,
But at its foot how many
Warriors lie—dead beside the lance.

No. 11. [*Untitled*]
(Chippewa)

When a Chippewa war-party left the village, the women walked before the warriors, all singing this song. After going some distance, the women divided and stood in two lines, between which the warriors passed on their way. The women then returned to the village still singing the song.

Literal translation: "Come it is time for you to depart. We are going on a long journey."

Fare thee well. The time is come
For our sad departing,
We who take the road to war
Travel on a long journey.

Fare thee well. The warrior's eyes
Must not look beside him;
In departing he must see
Only the camp-fires of the enemy.

Fare thee well. We go to fight
For the tribe's protection,
Yet we know the road to war
Ever is a long journey.

No. 12. *To the Buffalo*
(Chippewa)

This is a dance song, accompanying the use of the Buffalo Medicine, which was supposed to strengthen the warriors.

Literal translation: "Strike ye our land with curved horns."

Strike ye now our land with your great curv'd horns;
In your mighty rage toss the turf in the air.
Strike ye now our land with your great curv'd horns;
We will hear the sound and our hearts will be strong.
When we go to war,
Give us of your strength in the time of our need,
King of all the plain—buffalo, buffalo.
Strike ye now our land with your great curv'd horns;
Lead us forth to the fight.

No. 13. *The Thunderbirds*
(Chippewa)

The following song was used in the treatment of the sick. It seems probable that the man who originally used it was one who received it in a dream of the thunderbirds.

Literal translation: "The sound approaches, the (thunderbirds) draw near."

Hear the loud sound!
The thunderbirds draw near us, in their mighty power.
Hark their voices!
The lightning flash is the gleaming of their terrible eyes;
The roll in the storm-swept sky
Is the noise of the thunderbird's wings.

No. 14. *In Her Canoe*
(Chippewa)

Literal translation: "I see her, my sweetheart, paddling her canoe."

In her canoe I see her,
Maiden of my delighted eyes.
I see in the rippling of the water
The trailing light slipped from her paddle blade.
A signal sent to me.
Ah, maiden of my desire,
Give me a place in thy canoe;
Give me the paddle blade,
And you shall steer us away
Wherever you would go!

No. 15. *Love Song*
(Chippewa)

This song was recorded in western Minnesota, but was said to have been brought by the Chippewa from La Pointe, Wisconsin, a generation ago.

Literal translation: "To a very distant land he is going, my lover; soon he will come again."

All my heart is lonely,
All my heart is full of sorrow.
My lover, my lover is departed.

Dark the sky at evening,
Sad the bird-notes in the dawning.
My lover, my lover is departed.

He was all my sunshine,
His the beauty and the gladness.
Return, return, gladness and joy.

No. 16. *Do Not Weep*
(Chippewa)

Literal translation: "Do not weep, I am not going to die."

I am not going to die;
I am not going to die;
I am not willing to die.
Ah, do not weep, beloved, for me.

It is for you that I live;
It is for you that I live;
Hold me once more in your arms.
Death could not take your lover from you.

No. 17. *Longing*
(Chippewa)

Literal translation: "Although he said it, still I am filled with longing when I think of him."

It is true that he is gone away;
It is true he spoke those bitter words;
Yet for these, for these I do not mourn.
All my heart is filled with loneliness and pain
In the fear he will not come again.
Although he said it, still I long for him,
And still I wait for him.

No. 18. *Song of the Crows*
(Chippewa)

It is said that this song was heard by a young man in a fasting vision. Because of this experience he was able to understand the language of the crows.

Literal translation: "The first to come I am called among the birds. I bring the rain. Crow is my name."

I am first to come in early spring,
'Tis I who bring the rain,
First of all the birds,
And I am called the crow.

You may hear my call across the field
And know that spring is near.
I will bring the rain,
For I am called the crow.

No. 19. *Song of an Ambitious Mother*
(Chippewa)

This is the song of a mother who asks that the chief's daughter be permitted to marry her son. A brass kettle was among the most valued possessions of a Chippewa woman in the early days, yet the words imply that her son, and not herself, will bestow this kettle upon the prospective bride.

Literal translation: "I am asking for Bugac's daughter. My big brass kettle he is giving." (Bugac is the name of a chief.)

This I have come to ask you,
This I have come to ask you—
O, let your daughter
Marry my son, the hunter,
And he'll give your daughter
My big brass kettle.

No. 20. *The Child in the Dark*
(Chippewa)

The man who recorded this song said that when he was a child, his mother once left him alone in the wigwam at night. He became very much afraid that he would hear an owl, which is the particular terror of small Chippewa children, so he composed this little song and sang it. The people in nearby wigwams heard him singing, and learned the song, which afterward became popular in the village.

Literal translation: "Very much also I of the owl am afraid, whenever I am sitting alone in the wigwam."

Very much do I fear
That the owl I may hear
When I sit all alone in the wigwam.
Very much do I fear
That the owl I may hear in the dark.

No. 21. *Lullaby*
(Chippewa)

The Chippewa women use no words with this song repeating over and over the soothing syllables "Way, way, way."

Little baby, sleep,
Mother swings your hammock low;
Little birds are asleep in their nest.

Way, way, way, way, way,
Way, way, way, way, way, way, way.
Little baby with nothing to fear.

UNPUBLISHED POEMS

This manuscript of unpublished poems was sent to me December 4, 1942. It was to be used in a lecture demonstration. Included are: "The Dead Chiefs Have Spoken," "Song of Lamentation," "Chippewa Song of Victory," "Song of an Indian Gold Star Mother," "The Road to War," "Sing the Songs of Victory," and "Song of a Warrior's Wife."

The Dead Chiefs Have Spoken

We are the dead chiefs,
Listen, O great White Father,
The war chief of the white man,
We are come to you from the land of spirits,
Wearing our war feathers and bearing the scalps we took away.
You are entering on the path
Our feet have trod before you.

We are the dead chiefs,
'Tis to you we speak, O Father,
To you who lead in the council,
We are come to shake your hand in fellowship,
We come with the pipe of fellowship for we have heard the cry of battle,
Listen to us, the dead warriors—
Leaders of the unconquered.

We stand unseen beside you,
Silent in the council,
Watching by the campfires,
We are come from the land of the spirits
To bring a message from our people, asking you to take our young men for your war
Let them forget your teachings
And you need not teach them to fight.

Let our young men be your warriors,
And they will bring your victory,
For with the Indian will fight mysterious spirits,
The mighty forces of the earth and air,
And all the unseen powers you do not know.
Courage, O great White Father,
The dead chiefs are talking to you.

Song of Lamentation

This poem is in the rhythm of a Chippewa song addressed to the dying. The words, based on a Sioux song in memory of a noted warrior, have the meaning, "Sitting Crow, that is the way he wished to lie. He is lying as he desired."

Afar in the north your warrior lies,
 Afar in the north we buried your warrior,
 Buried him in the land of the enemy.
 At his side we laid his quiver and bow.
 Arrows he'd none, all were spent
 Before the enemy could conquer him.
 Bravely your warrior fought and well.

The journey is long to the spirit land,
 We left him the food he'll need for his journey,
 Left him the flint and steel to warm himself.
 O'er his face we laid his blanket red,
 And on his grave three nights we kept
 The fire burning to give him light
 And cheer his spirit on its way.

The wailing we hear, is it for him?
 The wailing we hear, the tears and sobbing low,
 Do they weep for our brother, the warrior?
 He is lying now as he wished he might lie.
 A warrior's grave well may be
 Afar in the land of the enemy,
 His empty quiver beside him there.

Chippewa Song of Victory

Based on the words of a Chippewa war song.

Across the field of the fight
 I saw the Sioux women going,
 And I heard the sound of their wailing
 As to and fro on that field they went,
 Seeking the dead and dragging in the wounded.

As the evening came on
 I saw the lights in their teepees,
 And again I heard the sound of their wailing—
 The cries of those who had found their dead on the battle field,
 But the braided scalps
 Hung from the belts of the Chippewa.

Song of an Indian Gold Star Mother

Another based on the words of a Chippewa Song.

Hear, O my son, as I call,
 Hear thy mother's cry to thee,
 Long the day and sad as I sit before my tent,
 Making moccasins for other feet than thine.

See thy mother's face,
 Gone is the black paint of mourning,¹
 Braided is my hair and my dress is smooth and neat,
 Only in my heart are there the signs of grief.

Come, O my son, at my call,
 Come from the land of the spirits!
 Daily when the young men ride by my tent
 I look up to see if you are coming home.

The Road to War

This poem is in the rhythm of a Chippewa song entitled, "Farewell to the warriors," with the words, "Come, it is time for you to depart. We are going on a long journey." This melody, with the following words, was in the "Songs of the Soldiers and Sailors" issued by the Commissions on Training Camp Activities of the Army and Navy Departments in the First World War. Among the Indians it was sung when the women escorted the departing warriors beyond the village.

Fare thee well, The time has come
 For our sad departing.
 We who take the road to war
 Travel on a long journey.

Fare thee well. The warrior's eyes
 Must not look beside him,
 In departing he must see
 Only the camp-fires of the enemy.

Fare thee well. We go to fight
 For the tribe's protection,
 Yet we know the road to war
 Ever is a long journey.

Sing the Songs of Victory

It is based on the words of a Chippewa song.

With the warriors he is gone
 In the war canoe.
 This is what he said—
 "You must learn to sing the songs of victory.
 Do not weep for one who goes to war,
 It is what every man should do."

In the dawn and the evening
 As I sit in my tent
 I can hear him say—
 "You must learn to sing the songs of victory,"
 And I weep as a woman may do.

¹ Black paint, disheveled hair and untidy appearance are signs of mourning among the Indians and are discontinued when the period of mourning is over.

In the starlight and the moonlight,
 When the lodges are dark,
 By the water's edge I stand
 looking through the misty night,
 And I try to sing the songs of victory
 As I watch for the war canoe.

All day in the village,
 As I work at my task
 I am listening for the shout
 Telling the village that the warriors come;
 Then you will bring me scalps of the enemy,
 And I'll sing the songs of victory.

Song of a Warrior's wife

Based on the words of a Chippewa song.

Dancing when the fight was thickest
 I urged you to fiercer and bloodier strife,
 Truly then I was a woman
 Worthy to be your wife,
 Sharing the greed of victory.

Singing in the midst of the battle
 I saw you fight the enemy bands,
 Truly then if I had been a man
 I could have killed with my bare hands—
 I could have killed a Sioux!

THE MUSIC OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN*

There are two ways in which we may approach the subject of Indian music. One is with the question, "What does Indian music mean to us?" The other is, "What does it mean to the Indians?" We must approach it from both standpoints in order to understand it.

You have probably heard Indian music at exhibitions or on the stage and remember the loud drumming and the harsh voices of the singers. Perhaps the Indian would get just such an unfavorable impression from hearing our jazz bands. But the Indian songs you heard at exhibitions were not like our jazz. They were probably songs of social dances or perhaps they were old war songs. Indians sing all sorts of songs in the same way—the manner of rendition has no significance. From our standpoint we might call it abstract, as that word is commonly used at the present time.

The Indians' manner of voice production is their own. I once asked Little Wolf, one of my singers, to hear me sing a song that he had recorded and tell me if it was correct. He listened and said, "The *tune* is right but you haven't an Indian throat."

Indians never "sing with expression," so the style of singing is the same throughout a song, as well as in different songs. We use a syllable for practically every note, but most Indian songs have very few words—2 or 3 are often enough for a song and they occur midway through the melody. The rest of the tones are produced by this strange "Indian throat"—a muscular action that can clearly produce tones as short as sixteenth or even thirty-second notes without any distinct syllables. An Omaha Indian said that, "we talk a great deal when we sing."

*Address prepared for and given to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Florida, March 31, 1954.

Indians have no musical system, no rules of composition, few musical composers, no teachers and no concerts. Is it any wonder that their music is a foreign language to the white race?

My work, as you know, is the recording of Indian songs and transcribing them as nearly as possible in our notation, so that the *eye* can get an impression that the *ear* does not receive when listening to the song. This work has been done almost entirely for the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, a limited amount having been done for the Southwest Museum of Los Angeles, California. Both institutions have published the results in books. A large manuscript on Seminole Music will go to press soon at the Bureau of Ethnology, and two other manuscripts await publication. The field work has included tribes in all the principal areas from Florida to British Columbia and the recordings from the Bureau of Ethnology have been transferred to the Music Division of the Library of Congress. Selected songs are now being issued in a series of long-playing disks.

Early in my work I established a system of analysis for each song and have continued this throughout the whole series. These tabulated analyses make it possible to compare the structure of songs in different areas. At one time I used 22 tables of analysis but later reduced the number when the results were similar in many tribes. This showed the peculiarity to be characteristic of Indian music as a whole, not a peculiarity of a certain tribe.

With these analyses there have been descriptions of the uses of the songs and the personality of the singers, showing the relation of music to the life of the Indian, but the presentation of the subject has been from the standpoint of our own race.

Now let us consider music from the standpoint of the Indian. He has no written music and his songs are carried in his mind. There is a sort of musical aristocracy among the Indians, and the songs they value most highly are songs that belong to men in that group. Their songs are entirely distinct from the songs of social dances and games, or songs learned from other tribes. Such songs may be sung by anyone, but these special songs belong to individuals who are believed to receive them in "dreams." Such songs are connected with "magic power." They come to the mind of the man who has prepared himself to receive them by fasting and other acts. This might be compared to what we call *inspiration*, and such songs among the Indians have a definite purpose. They are believed to give power for success in war, hunting, the treatment of the sick, or other undertakings. They are songs to *benefit* the Indian by putting him in contact with power above *human* power. The Indian may personalize the source of the song and its power, or he may attribute it to some form of nature. These songs were long ago designated as "dream songs" and in one of these songs the singer says he is "carried by the wind across the sky."

Many "dream songs" are believed to be given by spirit birds or animals, these being birds or animals that live successfully in the environment of the dreamer. Thus a man on the plains might dream of a spirit buffalo that gave him strength or a roving wolf that gave him success in war—the Sioux war songs were called "wolf songs." A man on the Northwest Coast dreamed of a whale. This may seem of little significance, but as we are considering music in the life of the Indian we will recognize in this a friendliness of nature—a desire to help man. Such songs link man with nature in ways that are foreign to us. We talk of conquering nature, but that was not the Indian way. An incident will show this. On the Northwest Coast I was recording songs by a woman from Clayoquot Sound—on the west coast of Vancouver Island, and her husband, who was a Makah, living near Cape Flattery. Neither spoke English. She recorded a song to make the sea calm, with the words "Breakers, roll more gently."

I asked whether the ocean was angry and they seemed surprised, talking together. Then the interpreter said, "They cannot understand why you ask such a question. How could nature be angry with us when we get our food and everything we have from nature?" This communication with nature is a phase of Indian music that extends far into their culture, and is too deep for present consideration.

Among the most important "dream songs" are those used in the treatment of the sick. "Music therapy" was old among the Indians long before it came into use by our own race. The Indian doctors, or medicine men, received the songs with instructions for their use from "spirits" of animals, who continued their aid. Thus a Chippewa doctor had a song with the words, "The big bear, to his lodge I go often." It was considered good for a doctor to dream of a bear, as it is such a healthy animal and has good claws for digging roots, which it eats.

I have recorded about 200 of these healing songs, sung by men and women who were using them at that time in treating the sick. Five such songs were recorded by a Seminole woman known as Susie Tiger. The recording of these and other songs in the Cow Creek group was made possible by the aid of William King, a Creek who was there temporarily and understood their dialect. The rhythm of the songs for the sick is generally peculiar and forms a subject for special consideration.

As Indians have no written language the history of a tribe is preserved by its members, being transmitted from one generation to the next. Songs are often connected with important events in the history of a tribe and the age of the song corresponds with our knowledge of the time of the event. Thus I recorded songs concerning the removal of the Seminole to Oklahoma which took place about 1838. Such songs are still remembered, as, for example, a Chippewa song concerning a certain treaty known as the Salt Treaty which took place in 1847. The tradition of the treaty has come down in the song and our own knowledge supplies the date. In this song the Pillager Band boasts that they will receive salt, which the other bands lack. By the treaty they were to receive 5 barrels of salt annually for 5 years.

The names of successful warriors are preserved in songs, and by an interesting custom the name of one warrior may replace another of more recent accomplishment, the praise of valor remaining the same; thus a song is in praise of Cimauganic, whose name replaced that of a former warrior. The song has only two words, the name Cimauganic and a word meaning "killed," it being understood that he killed a man in war. This is a particularly interesting song.

The poetry of the Indians is another phase of their culture which is preserved in their songs. This can only be procured by the aid of an expert interpreter with a knowledge of the idioms of both languages and a genuine interest in the preservation of the culture of his people. For instance, I once obtained records of songs from Tule Indians from Panama who were temporarily in Washington. One song was interpreted as describing the rapid motion of a boat, saying that the wind in the sails was like the sounds of birds, and the clicking of blocks against the mast was like the sound of a clock. Another interpreter heard the record and said "the words mean the boat is going fast."

Among the Santo Domingo Pueblo Indians the words of the songs were often continuous throughout the melody and described customs in a highly poetic manner. One of these songs was concerning the bringing in of the harvest of corn and spoke of one little ear of corn that stood above the others in the load and sang about what he saw.

Mention has been made of the very few words in some Indian songs. Thus the words of a Chippewa song were translated:

"The bush is sitting under a tree and singing."

On being questioned, the interpreter said that it was an exact translation but it meant that the bush, under a tree, was putting forth its magic power. This is beautiful as poetry and also shows the Indian belief in a mysterious power in nature. Another song in that series contained only the words:

"The deer is looking at a flower."

On the Northwest Coast, where the men go far out on the Pacific Ocean to catch whale and seal, an old man recorded a touching song with these words:

My little son, my little baby boy,
You will put a sealing spear in your canoe, not
knowing what use you may make of it when
you are a man.

The songs of the Chippewa, Sioux, Papago and the Northwest Coast tribes, to which the above references allude, are now available in the Folk Music Series issued by the Recording Laboratory of the Division of Music of the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

OBITUARY

Dr. Frances Densmore, who had been a collaborator of the Bureau for a period of 50 years, died June 5, 1957, at her home in Red Wing, Minnesota, at the age of 90. Shortly before her death she corrected the proof of her last bulletin for the Bureau entitled *Music of the Acoma, Isleta, Cochiti, and Zuñi Pueblos*, which will be distributed in August 1957. Thirteen of her papers on Indian music were published by the Bureau as complete bulletins, five as anthropological papers, and one was published in the Annual Report series.

—Bureau of American Ethnology,
74th Annual Report, 1956-1957.

CONCLUSION

THE STUDY OF INDIAN MUSIC

The vastness of exploration and study made by Frances Densmore for well over half a century is aptly summarized in her article, "The Study of Indian Music," concludes this tribute volume. The article is from the *Smithsonian Annual Report for 1941* (Publication 3651), pp. 527-50.

INTRODUCTION

The invention of the recording phonograph opened a new era in the preservation and study of Indian music. Previous to that invention it had been necessary for students to write down Indian songs by hearing them, a proceeding which involved many difficulties. Dr. Theodor Baker, of Germany, collected songs in that manner in 1880, and Dr. Franz Boas did his remarkable work among the Central Eskimo in 1883-84, the resulting publication (*6th Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*) containing more than 20 Eskimo songs with a description of their melodic form. Ten Omaha songs were presented in a paper by Miss Alice C. Fletcher entitled, "The *Wawan* or Pipe Dance of the Omahas," published in 1884 by the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology. When the phonograph became available, Miss Fletcher used that method of collecting Indian songs, and her name is forever linked with the study of Indian music. The phonograph that she used among the Omaha, about 1890, was later transferred to the Bureau of American Ethnology. This instrument, which I saw in Miss Fletcher's home, had a high mandrel, at least 6 inches above the plate of the machine, and she said it was a sturdy instrument as it had "traveled across the prairie in the wagons of the Indians and even rolled down hill without injury." Ninety songs recorded among the Omaha were transcribed by John Comfort Fillmore and contained in Miss Fletcher's book entitled "A Study of Omaha Music with a Report on the Structural Peculiarities of the Music by John Comfort Fillmore,"¹ published by the Peabody Museum in 1893. Twelve aluminium disk records of Arapaho, Kiowa, Caddo, and Comanche songs, collected by James and Charles Mooney in 1894 and marked "E. Berliner's Gramophone, pat. Nov. 8, 1887, May 15, 1888," are in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

It is believed that the first printed account of the use of a phonograph among Indians was that of Jesse Walter Fewkes, published in 1890. In April of that year Dr. Fewkes took a phonograph operated by a treadle among the Passamaquoddy Indians in Maine and recorded their language and songs. Sixteen items were recorded, five of which were songs. Later he recorded Zuni and Hopi songs, using a phonograph with storage batteries, but he considered this less satisfactory than the instrument with a treadle. These songs were transcribed and studied by Dr. Benjamin Ives Gilman. With his keen appreciation of advancement in science, Dr. Fewkes was also a pioneer in the recording of Indian songs on disks, in the field. Assisted by Dr. John P. Harrington he thus recorded 11 Hopi songs. (See *43d Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, p. 5, 1925-1926). A complete recording equipment was installed by a piano company and operated by a professional sent for the purpose, and the disk records were released through commercial channels.

It is impossible to mention all the ethnologists and musicians who have included Indian music in their studies, but each has contributed, in some way, to the development of the research.

As this paper is to trace the development of my own work on Indian music, let me first express my appreciation of the inspiration and aid extended to me by these pioneers in a unique and highly specialized field of research. Miss Alice C. Fletcher's work was called to my attention a year or two before the publication of her book on Omaha music, and with

¹ Peabody Mus. Amer. Archaeol. and Ethnol. Harvard Univ., Pap., vol. 1, No. 5, 1893.

the encouragement of Professor Fillmore, whose acquaintance I had made, I wrote to Miss Fletcher, telling of my interest in the subject. If she had been less gracious in her response, it is probable that I would not have taken up the study of Indian music. My interests were entirely musical, as I was teaching piano and lecturing on the Wagnerian operas. Indian music attracted me only as a novelty, but in 1895 I added it to my lecture subjects, presenting Miss Fletcher's material with her permission. I availed myself of every opportunity to hear Indians singing at fairs and other exhibitions, and began a systematic course of reading on the history and customs of the American Indians. About 1901 I wrote down a Sioux song that was sung by Good Bear Woman, a Sioux living in a small Indian village near Red Wing, Minn. Among the attractions at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, in 1904, was the old Apache warrior Geronimo. I stood behind him and noted down a melody that he hummed as he printed his name in careful letters on cards to sell to passersby.

Every year, on June 14, the Chippewa at White Earth, Minn., hold a celebration with much singing and dancing. I attended this celebration in 1905 and had my first impression of Indian dancing on a reservation. The Chippewa are excellent singers, the costumes were picturesque, and the green of the prairie was a lovely background to the picture. Hour after hour I sat beside the dance circle, becoming more and more impressed with the idea that I must record Chippewa songs as Miss Fletcher had recorded the songs of the Omaha. Two years later I recorded Indian songs for the first time, from some of the same singers. The June 14 celebration was attended again, in 1907, and afterward, using a borrowed recording phonograph, I recorded songs sung by Big Bear and other Chippewa friends. Later I stopped at Onigum, on the Leech Lake Reservation, and the visit was at an opportune time. Flat Mouth, the chief of that band of Chippewa, lay dying, and the medicine men were treating him according to the customs of the Grand Medicine Society (Midéwiwin) of which he was a member. This took place about a mile from the agency and I was the only white person present. The Indians knew I was there but made no objections, and I heard songs that were sung only on such an occasion.

Prof. William H. Holmes, then Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, in 1907 allotted \$150 for the recording of Indian songs. I bought an Edison Home phonograph, the best recording equipment available at that time, and returned to the Chippewa agency at Onigum to begin my work. The Indians remembered my presence there at the time of Flat Mouth's death, and the medicine man who was in charge of the ceremony recorded many of his best songs. Several others recorded songs of the Grand Medicine and drew the pictures that represent the words of these songs. I tested the accuracy of this system of mnemonics by showing the pictures to members of the Grand Medicine Society at White Earth, a few weeks later, and they sang the same songs.

Later in the same year, with a further allotment of funds, I went to White Earth, Minn., and continued my work. One of the most important informants was an aged man named Maingans (Little Wolf), a member of the Midéwiwin.

A few weeks after this work at White Earth I went to Washington for the first time, and gave a lecture on Indian music before the Anthropological Society of that city. Maingans and several other old Chippewa were in Washington on tribal business and consented to enact a portion of a Grand Medicine ceremony, singing the songs. They did this in all sincerity and it was received with respect, but Maingans was severely punished when he returned to the reservation. He was not allowed to enter the lodge when the Midéwiwin held its meetings the following June. His wife died, and this was attributed to his enacting part of a native religious ceremony for the pleasure of white men. The Indians did not blame me, and the responsibility was placed entirely upon him and the other Chippewa who took part, but the regret remained. For that reason I have often refused to take material that is surrounded by superstition. I tell the Indians that I am trying to preserve the material so their children will understand the old customs, and that I do not want them to worry or be unhappy after I have gone. Sometimes this allays their fears and they are willing to talk freely, but I would rather miss some information than cause such distress as that of my old friend, Maingans, the Chippewa.

RECORDING EQUIPMENT

The phonograph I bought was a small machine, and the Bureau in 1908 replaced it with a Columbia graphophone. Home recording was at the height of its popularity and this machine was made to meet the demand. I was also supplied with several special recorders

which I tested with various types of voices and marked for the use to which they were best adapted. The galvanized-iron recording horn sent with this equipment was the best I have ever used. I have since tried many others, but none has produced the same quality of tone. This equipment is still in excellent order and I used it in recording Zuni songs in 1940.

During the years since this was purchased, I have tried one type of recording apparatus after another, as they have been placed on the market. My next equipment was a 4-minute Edison phonograph, used for the first time among the Ute in 1916. This had a metal frame, increasing the weight. The cylinder was longer, making it possible to record more singing, but the thread was finer and the little ridges on the cylinder sometimes broke down with repeated playing of the record. This equipment was used only in Utah and in North Dakota, when recording songs of the Mandan and Hidatsa in 1918. It had several recorders but I could not distinguish between the quality of their recordings.

In 1924 I began the use of an electric dictaphone and have used one at intervals ever since. It was used when recording the songs of the Tule Indians in Washington, the Seminole in Florida, the Winnebago in Wisconsin, the Omaha in Nebraska, and the songs of Santo Domingo Pueblo, recorded in California. For recording on the reservations I have used a dictaphone operated by a storage battery, but for recent work among the Omaha I used a 1941 model dictaphone, adapted to either direct current or alternating current. The type of recording apparatus varies with the circumstances under which the work is done. The ordinary dictaphone is not a precision instrument and alternating current is not always the same. The difference in current may cause a difference of a half tone, or even a tone, in the pitch of a song as played on different days, but the transcription corresponds to the final checking of the record. The dictaphone is not intended to reproduce musical sounds and the quality of tone is less satisfactory than that of a phonograph.

An advantage of the dictaphone is that the change from recorder to reproducer is made with a single motion, whereas in a phonograph it is necessary to detach the horn, loosen a screw and connect the horn. Frequently an Indian wants to hear the record he has made, or it is desirable to hear the recording for some other reason, and these motions take an appreciable time. A disadvantage of the dictaphone is that the horn is small, as it is intended for a man at an office desk. If the Indian becomes interested in his singing and moves the horn away from his mouth, the record becomes faint. It is sometimes necessary to hold the horn in position while the Indian sings. His position is easier to maintain when he sits in front of a phonograph horn that is swung from a crane. Another advantage of a phonograph horn is that it will, if desired, record the sound of as many as four singers, carefully grouped. It will also record the sound of a percussion instrument as accompaniment.

Songs are recorded best when the phonograph is not tightly wound. It is customary to rewind the phonograph with a few turns of the crank between recordings to maintain this tension of the springs. This precaution is scarcely necessary, as a test of the Columbia graphophone showed that the speed remained the same for about 15 minutes, after which it dropped rapidly. An uneven action of the motor distorts the speed and pitch of the record. Thus Dr. Fewkes described in conversation some of the difficulties he encountered with his first phonograph, which was operated by a foot treadle. If he became interested in the singing, he moved the treadle faster, increasing the speed and raising the pitch. Sometimes he moved the treadle slower, with the opposite effect.

The records on the phonograph and dictaphone are made by the "vertical path," often called the "hill and dale" method, in which the depth of the groove varies with the loudness of the tone. The late Emile Berliner expressed the opinion that this method of recording was best adapted to my work. He became interested in my work in 1913 and a pleasant acquaintance continued almost to the time of his death. The process of recording on disks was advanced by Mr. Berliner in 1887. Records on disks are made by the "horizontal path," the groove made by the recording needle being of uniform depth throughout its length and varying from side to side. This is the only method used commercially on disks at the present time, but recording on disks by the vertical path has been developed in the laboratories of the Bell Telephone Co. Concerning this recording on disks, Dr. Leopold Stokowski stated in 1935 in correspondence, "The quality of the recording was extremely high."

During the World's Fair in Chicago in 1933 I recorded Indian songs on disks, using a Fairchild apparatus courteously placed at my disposal by Mrs. Laura G. Boulton and Dr. George Herzog. The records were made on aluminium disks. This apparatus uses a micro-

phone and makes possible the recording of groups of singers. It was desired to obtain records of typical group singing by Sioux, and five singers—three men and two women—were selected from those taking part in exhibitions at the fair. I also obtained examples of typical singing by women, with their peculiar tone production. Navajo songs were recorded by two members of that tribe, singing in unison while beating a small drum.

Many of my cylinder recordings were transferred to aluminum disks in the laboratory of Dr. C. E. Seashore at the University of Iowa. This work was done in 1934 and the original tone was admirably preserved. Dr. Seashore's courteous interest has extended over a period of many years and is acknowledged with deep appreciation. A considerable number of my cylinder recordings have also been transferred to composition disks.

Mention may here be made of the interest shown by the Indians when they first hear recordings of their voices. One woman said, "How did the phonograph learn that song so quickly? That is a hard song." Another woman said, "The phonograph seems to be blowing feathers," referring to the shavings of the recording. Such primitive Indians are not met so frequently now as in the earlier years of the work.

WORK IN THE FIELD

Before describing the recording of Indian music in the field, let me acknowledge with appreciation the courtesy that has been extended to my work by the Commissioners of Indian Affairs, the representatives of the Indian Office in the field, and the missionaries of Protestant and Roman Catholic churches on the reservations.

The first endeavor, after presenting my credentials to the Superintendent (formerly called the agent) and arranging for a place to stay, is to find a competent interpreter. It is not advisable to employ the agency interpreter nor one connected with a mission, as they use the current vocabulary of those institutions. Their purpose is to convey an idea and, beyond the simplest transactions, my work requires a different type of man or woman. I must have an interpreter who can think in Indian and translate the native idioms into pure, grammatical English. My best interpreters have been graduates or former students of Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute and the Carlisle School. These men had a literary use of English because they were away from its vernacular use for so many years. Valuable aid was also given by the Rev. Clement H. Beaulieu, a Chippewa clergyman of the Episcopal church, who studied the subtle meanings of the Chippewa language as he studied Greek. Much time is required in working out the understanding of a word in the Indian mind, and the interpreter must be patient as well as painstaking when translating the words of songs or any information that lies close to the finer phases of Indian thought. An exact translation of the Indian idiom reveals the native poetry in the words of the songs.

It was particularly hard to find a competent interpreter among the Seminole in Florida, as shown by the following incident: A certain dance was designated as the Two-headed Dance. On being questioned further the interpreter said he meant that the dancers "headed two ways," and described the motion of the dancers around the man who is shaking the coconut-shell rattle. They move in a circle until they reach their starting point, then stand still a minute before reversing the motion, moving in the opposite direction and singing another song. The name of the dance was recorded as the Two-direction Dance. Another dance was called the Screech Owl Dance and many songs were recorded with that title. Panther said it was also called the Prairie Dance, saying this was an "off-hand name" given it by the white people. He said the Seminole were to dance at a certain exhibition and the manager gave it that name. "There was no reason for the change but white people understood that word 'Prairie.'"

Robert Higheagle, my interpreter on the Standing Rock Reservation in North Dakota, was a graduate of Hampton Institute as well as of the business department of Carnegie College. I could send him away for a day, on horseback, and he would "bring back his man"—not literally, but the man would come in his wagon the next day. After such a quest, Brave Buffalo, a distinguished medicine man, came to the agency and recorded his best songs. Attached to the band of his hat was a whistle which showed that he was on his way to attend a patient. He excused himself to go and see the sick person but returned later, as he promised. It was my custom to type my material and ask Higheagle to look it over. Thus I wrote a brief account of the life of Sitting Bull, in connection with his personal songs, and asked Higheagle to read it. He studied the material and then said, "You have written that Sitting Bull returned from Canada. I think we had better say that he *was*

returned, for the soldiers brought him back." When an interpreter uses the pronoun "we," I know that the work is his as well as mine, and that he is giving the best that is in him.

The ideal place for recording Indian songs is a detached building which is not so isolated as to give an impression of secrecy, nor so conveniently located that Indians will linger around the door. The building should be near the agency and trading post, so the Indians can attend to business if they wish to do so. This was important in the old days when they often came 25 miles or more on horseback. Such an ideal "office" is rare, but the Superintendents of the reservations have always given me the best facilities at their disposal. I have recorded in an agent's parlor and in his office on a Saturday afternoon, and also at a Protestant mission. I have even recorded in a school laundry, with the tubs pushed back against the wall, and in an agency jail that was not in use at the time. A tar-paper shack was my office for more than a month on the Dakota prairie when the temperature in similar shacks was 116°—there was no shade for miles around.

I remember with queer affection an office at Fort Yates, N. Dak., that had been part of the kitchen of the old fort. Subsequently it had been used as a coal shed, and it had neither door nor windows when I took over. The agent let a prisoner from the guardhouse help me fix it up and he suggested boring holes in the floor to let the water run through, when the floor was cleaned. He made steps, rehung the door, and nailed window sash over the openings, and I pasted paper over the broken plaster and used packing boxes as tables. For many weeks I used that office and the Indians felt at home there, which is important. I stayed until the weather was bitter cold and the snow was piled high around the door. A little stove kept the place warm and I nailed a blanket over the door after entering, in order to keep out the bitter wind that blew down the Missouri River. One trial was that the mice did not move with the soldiers and their descendants had populated the building. They frisked around the floor and hid behind the paper on the wall. Once I found one under my typewriter when I came back at noon.

Among the Sioux who recorded songs in this office was Siya'ka . . . a particularly fine man, who recorded 29 songs, including songs of the Sun Dance, the warpath, and the buffalo hunt.

Many hundreds of songs have been recorded in schoolrooms during the summer vacation and in the homes of Indians. Henry Thunder, a Winnebago, refused to sing unless he could record in a grove, where he could see in all directions and be sure that no one would overhear him. . . . I have recorded in a hospital, when a singer was able to sit up long enough to sing, and in the issue room of an agency, with its meat block and boxes, in the warehouse of a bridge company, and in the little store of a Northwest Coast Indian, with whaling equipment of various sorts on the walls. There was a fine pair of floaters that I wanted to buy, but one morning when I asked for them the Indian said that someone came for them the night before, saying that a whale had been sighted. He said the floaters belonged to the whole village and anyone might call for them.

It is a rare combination of circumstances if I have a comfortable place to stay, an interpreter, singers, and a place to record all at the same time. Let us suppose that such ideal conditions exist, that the equipment has arrived in perfect order and been set up in an "office," that the singer is willing to sing, and the interpreter is seated beside him. Perhaps the man wants to smoke before he sings, which causes a slight delay. I usually ask the brand of tobacco that is popular in the tribe and provide a package which is duly presented at this time. I pay the singers in cash at the end of each day, and sometimes at the close of each song. An argument always arises as to the price, and I explain that I have the same price in each tribe for general songs, paying a higher price for certain classes of personal songs. It is hard for an Indian to understand why a song that was worth a horse in the old days should be recorded for the small price that I pay. A Sioux once offered to record a song that would break the drought. He said the dry summers would not have occurred if the Government had let the Indians sing their rain songs. He said the song would "work" for me as well as for an Indian, and he wanted \$50 for it. According to him, the song was cheap at that price. Needless to say, I did not record the song and the drought continued.

If the Indian singer does not understand or speak English, the negotiations must be entrusted to the interpreter. He must explain that the history and origin of the song and the meaning of the words is included in the price of recording, unless there is a long legend or extended information, for which he will be paid by the hour. The interpreter explains that different verses of a song do not count as separate songs, neither are recordings of the

same tune with different words paid for as separate songs. The Indian is told that he must not record songs that differ in only a few tones and expect pay for each recording. If a long series or a cycle of songs is under consideration, he is told to select the songs with the most interesting words or melody. This understanding is necessary, as a series may comprise a very large number of songs, and it is easier for the Indian to sing them all in sequence. There is little variety in such series, and it would be impossible, as well as unnecessary, to transcribe them all. The Indian is also instructed to sing the song through a certain number of times and then pause. Without this precaution the recordings would be almost impossible to separate.

When all these matters have been settled, the singer is shown how to sit in front of the horn, and to sing into it from the proper distance. If a dictaphone is used, he must be shown how to hold the horn, pressing the upper edge against his upper lip. He is also told that he must sing in a steady tone and not introduce the yells and other sounds that are customary to Indian singers. The recording is not intended to be realistic, but to preserve the actual melody.

Indians rarely sing alone and generally have a percussion accompaniment. A medicine man may sing alone when treating a sick person, and under certain circumstances a man may sing his personal song at a gathering; but as a rule Indian singing may be called ensemble music. For this reason it is hard for one man to sing alone and to record his song without the support of a drum or rattle. The sound of an Indian drum does not record well, and I substitute a pasteboard box, struck with a small stick, which gives percussion without resonance. The singer soon learns to use it, holding it near the horn if the sound is to be recorded and farther away if it is only for his own assistance in singing. I may record two or more renditions with the percussion audible in order to preserve the relative rhythms, and then have one or two renditions with the accompaniment inaudible so the melody can be transcribed more easily. In some songs the meter of the drum is different from that of the voice, or the rhythm of the drum may be peculiar; and in such instances I am careful to obtain recordings in which the drumbeat is clear throughout the song. When the record is transcribed, the sound of the voice is excluded when determining the beat of the drum, and the sound of the drum is excluded when recording the voice; then I listen to the two together and check the result. In ordinary songs, such as the songs of games and social dances, the drum is continuous and steady and I may not make any record of it. Instead a notation is made in my notebook such as "drum in quarters exactly with the voice."

The sound of an Indian rattle can sometimes be recorded in order to obtain a record of the rhythm, but pounding on the pasteboard box is generally substituted for a rattle when songs are recorded. The Indian usually wants to try making a record with the accompaniment of the rattle but is soon satisfied that it is not practical with my equipment. Occasionally, he wishes to shake the rattle at his side, without trying to record it. Circumstances vary and there is no inflexible rule of procedure.

When a song is recorded, the cylinder box is marked with the singer's name and the number in his sequence, such as Red Weasel 10 or Brave Buffalo 20. At the beginning of my work I assigned a catalog number to each song when it was recorded and sent all the records to the Bureau of American Ethnology, but this was changed after about 200 songs were recorded and I assigned catalog numbers only to the records that had been transcribed in notation. The others are studied but not sent to the Bureau. They may be almost like the songs that are transcribed, or they may be "seconds" that, in my opinion, are not worth preserving.

A singer may want to hear songs of other tribes, and I always carry a few discarded cylinders for that purpose. The type of melody differs in various tribes, and the Indian listens attentively, as one musician to a performance by another. I never use recordings in this manner, however, if the original singer objects to that use of his songs. Ordinary dance songs are sufficient for the purpose.

It is unsatisfactory to ask an Indian to give an "audition" of a song, to find out whether I want to record it. Strange as it may seem, his first rendition is usually the best, and this should be recorded. Instead of asking him to sing the song, I ask him to "go over it carefully in his mind until sure that he remembers it correctly." The room is quiet and he "thinks" the song, or hums it under his breath, probably tapping the time with one finger. A blank cylinder has been put in place and when he signals that he is ready the recorder is dropped and he records the song. It is many years since the old men have sung the old

songs, and the record must be made while the recollection is clear. A slight disturbance or delay might mean the loss of the song.

Psychology enters largely into the work of obtaining the old Indian songs. The singer must always be kept at ease. This is essential to success, and one must learn when to urge a singer and when to let him relax. Care must be taken that the form of a question does not suggest an answer. Through faulty questioning, a person could obtain astounding statements from an Indian, as he might not understand the question or might be too polite to differ with the questioner.

An Indian may be willing to tell what is desired and not know how to express it. Sometimes one will question an Indian for a long time and the Indian will leave out the things one wants most to know; then he will suddenly give the whole information without realizing it, or in reply to a seemingly casual question. One must be like a lawyer examining a witness. Yet Indians become restive and irritated if they feel that they are being questioned too closely. In my own work, I try to have the Indian feel that we are friends, talking over things in which we are mutually interested. In that way he becomes interested in clearing up points that I do not understand, and in the end I have the desired information.

A reservation is like any small community, and each man is known to his neighbors. On one of my first visits to the Red Lake Reservation in Minnesota I recorded songs from a strange Chippewa who said that he was a good singer. My interpreter was absent at the time and the man seemed so sure of himself that I made no inquiries about him. The records of his songs contained no sense of a keynote and were melodies on which strange theories of primitive scales might have been based. When my interpreter returned, I told him of this recording and he exclaimed, "You didn't take songs from *that* man! He can't carry a tune. Let me hear the records." He was able to recognize the songs and offered to record them. In his rendition they became simple little melodies with tones clearly referable to a keynote. As I became more experienced, I would decline to take songs from such a singer after hearing his first recording. Unlike white musicians, Indian singers are not sensitive, and a man is not offended if I say, "Your voice is not good enough for me to record." He is probably disappointed because he is not able to earn money, but he shows no resentment.

Personal character as well as musical ability is taken into consideration in the selection of singers. For this information I depend upon the interpreter and consult the white people at the agency. During the work among the Sioux a singer was brought by an informant, and data concerning the Sun Dance was recorded. Robert Higheagle was absent and another interpreter was obtained. When Higheagle returned, a few days later, he said, "There is trouble among the Indians. John Grass and other prominent men say they will have nothing to do with the work if So-and-so is connected with it. He killed a man, and his record in other matters is not good." The matter was carefully considered, and the responsibility placed on the man who introduced him. Finally his material was expunged and I never saw him again.

A good voice is not essential when the old songs are being recorded. Many old men and women who know the best songs have weak voices but it is possible, with care, to obtain a record that can be transcribed. Such songs are usually connected with magic power or with the treatment of the sick and were received in dreams by the singer or obtained by him from men who received them in that manner. The procedure is different if dance songs are desired. The dance is attended and the leader at the drum is observed with special care. Later, he or other singers are asked to record songs that were used on that occasion and the descriptions of the songs are aided by hearing them at the dance. My work has included many classes of modern dance and game songs, in all tribes under observation, but the old songs will be first to disappear. Such songs are not taught to the younger generation, who are seldom interested in them. In some instances the old songs are learned by young men but, in my experience, the rhythms are simplified. Thus I recorded a song from an old man and later allowed a young man to record the same song. In the latter rendition it had become a simple little melody, without the native rhythmic peculiarities. On one reservation a young man from an Indian school told me with pride that he was adapting the old songs and playing them on the cornet. Indian music with the present generation is in a transitional form, and my effort has been to preserve the old songs in their original form.

Women singers are much less in number than men. Women might treat the sick with songs or exercise other power received in dreams, but the number of such women was comparatively small. In some tribes a few women sang around the drum at dances, sitting behind the circle of men and singing an octave higher. The relative number of men and women singers is too large a subject for present consideration, but mention may be made of two classes of Indian songs that are popular. These classes are lullabies and love songs. I once asked an Indian singer about lullabies and he replied, "The women make a noise to put the children to sleep, but it is not singing." Subsequently I obtained two records of a lullaby, from two women. One was little more than crooning and the other was a simple melody, suggesting that the song had gradually taken form from the rather vague "noise to put the children to sleep." As the status of the lullaby is so low in the minds of Indian musicians, I leave its recording until near the end of work in a tribe and then obtain one or two records from trusted Indian women. The other subject to be handled discreetly is the love song. This is not a native custom and is usually connected with evil magic or intoxication. Love songs, in the old days, were sung to aid intrigue of various sorts, accompanied in some tribes by the use of figurines or other "charms." A Papago said, "If a man gets to singing love songs, we send for a medicine man to make him stop." In all tribes it is said that the love song, in our use of the term, came with the advent of the whites. In one tribe I was warned that if I recorded love songs, the fine old men would have nothing to do with my work. I have, however, recorded both the old songs of love magic and the modern love songs, as they are part of the music of the American Indian. The words of the modern songs generally show a lack of respect for women and boast of fascinations and conquests. I have learned not to ask for their translation in all instances. A prominent Pawnee said, "Songs arising from deep affection and respect were occasionally sung by Indians in the old times, and might be concerning persons who had been married for many years."² The cause of the change from these songs of respectful affection to the modern love song is found in the general change from primitive customs, and began when the young people refused to recognize parental authority in the matter of their affections. The subject of love songs is undertaken only with old, steady Indians.

When the old chiefs were still living, I frequently consulted them in regard to singers. Thus Red Cap, the famous Ute chief, said that he could not sing himself but would delegate his best singers to record the old songs for me. Red Cap stayed in the room while these songs were recorded, and his influence made it possible for me to record songs that otherwise would have perished with the singers. John Grass, the prominent Sioux chief, did not sing, but gave important information concerning the Sun Dance and his influence was of great assistance in the work.

A fact to be constantly borne in mind concerning Indian music is that it had a purpose. Songs in the old days were believed to come from a supernatural source and their singing was connected with the exercise of supernatural power. The songs of social dances are a later phase and of less importance. Health, food, and safety were the major concerns of the old Indians, and singing was an important means of assuring these. Ceremonies or ceremonial action was connected chiefly with the first and second of these requisites. The general term "medicine men" is applied to those who were skilled in these important matters, a term not unlike the title of "doctor" in our own race which is applied to others than medical practitioners. I have numbered many Indian medicine men and women among my friends. They have appreciated the value of my work and given their best songs and information, in order that the Indian might be understood more clearly by the white men. Among these interesting medicine men was Sidney Wesley... a Choctaw living near Philadelphia, Miss. His Choctaw name was translated "Kills It Himself," meaning that if game had been wounded, or any difficult task was to be performed, he did it himself instead of delegating it to someone else. His long, disarranged hair was said to "show that he is a doctor." Among his songs was one that mentioned hatred of the Polanche and Hispano, and it is interesting to note that contact of the Choctaw with the French ended about 1763 and the contacts with the Spaniards were still earlier. Wesley did not know what the words meant but sang the syllables by rote, as he learned them. He and his friend, Mary Hickman... aided one another in remembering old times, and said they joined in the war dances when they were young. The wars were ended but the dances

² Densmore, Frances, *Pawnee Music*. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 93, p. 93, 1929.

continued, as in other tribes. The songs were recorded in Mary Hickman's house. Her Choctaw name was translated "Putting It Back," and her little house indicated that she was an orderly person.

The most familiar songs connected with the food supply are the Pueblo songs to bring rain. The Chippewa sang to obtain an abundance of maple sugar, and the Plains tribes sang for success in the buffalo hunt. All tribes had songs for success in war, often connected with the use of "charms."

The songs collected in a tribe are a cross section of its culture. Thus the proportion of ceremonial songs recorded is largest in a highly ceremonial tribe, the proportion of healing songs is largest in tribes with rich vegetation and many medicinal herbs, and the proportion of hunting songs is largest in regions where game is abundant. Indian songs are of little value unless correlated with the life of the people. Indian music should be recognized as an important branch of ethnology.

It would be futile to stress quantity in collecting Indian songs, as every good Indian singer knows several hundred songs. Among the Seminole of Florida I recorded more than 200 songs from one singer, without a duplication. This man was Billie Stewart... leader of the Corn Dance in the Cow Creek group. His home... was in the cabbage palm region near Brighton, and his recording was done in two successive seasons—1932 and 1933. Toward the end of the second season he hummed a song of the Quail Dance and said, "I sang that for you last year, so I won't record it again." His wife was a medicine woman known by her maiden name of Susie Tiger, and she recorded several songs that she sang when treating the sick. A marvelous native poetry was contained in the words of these songs.

Other Seminole singers were Charlie Billie... leader of the Corn Dance in the Big Cypress group who recorded the ceremonial songs of that dance, and Josie Billie... who asked that his material be recorded with his Seminole name, meaning Panther. He recorded songs of the Hunting Dance and other valuable old songs. An interesting informant on Seminole customs was Mrs. John Tiger.... Several villages in the Everglades were visited and photographed, including a camp known as Old Camp Florida.

TRANSCRIPTION OF RECORDS

The transcribing of records is seldom done in the field, as time is so valuable and facilities are limited. The speed screw of the phonograph is removed when the instrument is shipped, and it is necessary to adjust the speed of the instrument when the songs are transcribed. Without this adjustment the pitch would not be the same in recording and transcribing, and the two performances would not be uniform. The desired speed is 160 revolutions per minute and this could be attained by counting the revolutions of the mandrel, but I devised a different method. The tone C of a pitch pipe was recorded on a wax cylinder. This is placed on the phonograph and the speed screw adjusted until the tone produced by this record is the same as that of the pitch pipe. The piano used when transcribing is tuned to the pitch (A-440). Thus the pitch of the singer's voice and the original tempo are preserved, and the transcription is made as nearly as possible from his actual performance. The voices of some men extend down to E below the bass staff, though a majority of the records made by men are within a compass of 10 or 12 tones above A, first space, bass staff. It is not unusual for the voice of an Indian woman to go down to E, third space, bass staff, and very few women have voices that extend above C on the treble staff. The Sioux have voices with a particularly large compass, and a Sioux woman recorded a song extending to F, fifth line, treble staff.

The outline of a melody is determined by comparing the tones of the record with those of the piano, but the intervals are usually determined by ear.³ The intervals with simplest vibration ratios are sung with best intonation, many singers showing an intonation that would be creditable to a member of our own race. Indians differ in this respect, and the personality of the singer is taken into consideration when his songs are transcribed. Thus a peculiarity in a record made by an expert singer is given more attention than a similar peculiarity in the work of a man whose performances are known to vary. If several renditions of a song have been recorded, they are studied and compared, the transcription being made from the best and clearest rendition.

The presentation of anything as strange as Indian singing must be in familiar terms if it is to be intelligible. Therefore I have used ordinary musical notation with a few special

³ A certified test of the author's pitch discrimination was made in 1914 [See Appendix.]

signs and entrusted the differences from that notation, as well as the mannerisms, to descriptive analyses. In this, as in any study, a great deal depends upon the standpoint of the investigator. What sounds strange to our ears is a song to the Indian, and my work has been from the standpoint of a musician who is approaching the music of an alien race. Bytones and various modes of attacking and releasing a tone are common in Indian singing. Early in my work I made an experiment to determine the importance of these vocal sounds. Placing two phonographs with the horns together I played a typical Sioux record, transferring it from one machine to the other until it had been copied six times. On comparing the seventh recording with the original rendition it was found that the seventh was much softer and the bytones had been eliminated, leaving a clear, pure tone, with intervals comparable to those of our musical system. It is not required that all the sounds produced by our own singers be shown in the notation of a song, and it seems reasonable to make a similar allowance when expressing the singing of Indians. The alternative is to devise an elaborate graphic system, based upon hearing the records or upon tone-photography. Such a system must of necessity be mastered by those who desire information on the subject. To be accurate with respect to Indian music as a whole, the system should be applied to different renditions of a song by the same singer, and to renditions of the same song by other singers. If carried to a conclusion, such a system would produce a vast amount of data, with small variations which are not essential to the song itself. For these reasons, the graphic presentations in my work are limited to "plots" showing the principal progressions of melodies, in order to compare the structure of various classes of songs,⁴ and diagrams which show the results of tabular analyses.⁵ These were discontinued when it was believed their purpose had been attained. Occasionally a musician or other person with a keen musical ear has been asked to compare the records of the songs with their transcriptions; they have invariably expressed the opinion that the transcriptions were adequate.

In order to test the pitch discrimination of the Indians, a series of tests was made among the Chippewa, Sioux, Mandan, and Hidatsa Indians, using a set of tuning forks kindly lent for the purpose by Dr. C. E. Seashore. The results were tabulated and submitted for examination to Dr. Seashore who expressed the opinion that "the abilities here shown are about as good as one would find among the average American whites under similar circumstances."

A graphic analysis of one of my records was made by means of phonophotography, showing the possibilities of that method. This analysis was made by Dr. Harold Seashore (1934) in the psychological laboratory at the University of Iowa, Iowa City.⁶ In respect to pitch, the graph made from the tone-photograph was substantially the same as the transcription by hearing.

In order to test the accuracy of certain observations concerning the relative rhythms of voice and drum, the phonograph, with a selection of records, was taken in 1918 to the laboratory of Dr. Dayton C. Miller, head of the department of physics, Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, Ohio. The sound was recorded graphically by the phonodeik, an instrument of Dr. Miller's invention, and an analytical study of the result was made by Dr. Miller, with a comparison of the photographs and the transcriptions of the same songs by hearing. Dr. Miller stated "the close agreement of the two methods hardly justifies the great amount of labor involved in the photographic method. This study was undertaken principally to learn what could be done if it were desirable."

In determining the meter of the songs, I use an ordinary Maelzel metronome which was tested at the Bureau of Standards. The metronome is not a precision instrument. The marks on its scale are not near together, and the "bob" is some distance from the scale, but this metronome was found to be reasonably accurate with the bob set at 120, on a level with the eye. This indication is about mid-length of the scale. For very slow or rapid songs the instrument is placed in this position and the tempo indicated by the position of the bob. The exact tempo of Indian singing is not important, and this mode of measurement is sufficient, the same metronome and method being used with all the songs.

⁴ Densmore, Frances, *Teton Sioux Music*. Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 61; *Northern Ute Music*. Bull. 75; *Mandan and Hidatsa Music*. Bull. 80.

⁵ *Teton Sioux Music*. pp. 40-51, figs. 1-18.

⁶ Seashore, Carl E. and Harold, "The Place of Phonophotography in the Study of Primitive Music." *Science*, Vol. 79, No. 2056, pp. 485-487, fig. 1.

⁷ Densmore, Frances, *Northern Ute Music*. Appendix, pp. 206-210, pls. 12-15, figs. 20, 21, 1918.

Having determined the meter of the song, it is necessary to note the accented tones by which the transcription is divided into measures. The use of measures does not imply that the Indian has any knowledge of our musical customs, but it is a convenient form for showing the rhythm of his musical performance. Each accented tone is transcribed as the beginning of a measure, regardless of the time intervening between the accents. In some songs the accents are evenly spaced; in others they seem erratic, but on further study they often combine to form a rhythmic pattern. Such a pattern usually comprises several measures and is designated as a rhythmic unit. Sometimes a 5-8 measure is followed by a 3-8 measure. The note values may suggest two measures in 2-4 time, but the accent divides the series as indicated. A measure transcribed in 7-8 time cannot be divided, as there is no secondary accent. Quadruple time rarely occurs, but 2-4 time is common in the songs. The accents in a song do not always correspond to the accents in the words of the song when spoken. The rhythm of the song is the rhythm of the melody in the mind of the singer.

The tempo sometimes changes during a song. Such a change may be either abrupt or gradual, and in the latter instance the new time indication is shown when the new tempo is established, preceded by "ritard" or "accelerando." A question to be determined is whether the change is intentional. The several renditions are compared, and, as a general rule, the change is found in all the renditions, showing it to be part of the song. Old Indian singers have a remarkable sense of both pitch and tempo. Thus, Mrs. Holding Eagle, a Mandan, recorded certain songs in 1912, and in 1916 recorded the same songs again, the pitch and tempo being the same. Other instances of exact duplication have been noted in other tribes, and series of songs recorded by one singer are generally identical in tempo and pitch.

INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

Instrumental music is used only as an accompaniment to singing among the Indians, except that the young men sometimes play a flute in the evenings and a whistle may be blown in ceremonies or in the treatment of the sick. The musical instruments are of four classes, consisting of drums (or similar percussion instruments), rattles, flutes, and whistles. There are many forms within each class, and the instruments are generally made of materials available in the region where the Indians live. An exception is the gourd rattle, which is widely distributed. Specimens of the musical instruments in the several regions have been collected and placed in the United States National Museum.

Drums of the familiar type are made by tribes that hunt the deer or can obtain deerhide from their neighbors. The Papago, who are not hunters, use a bowl-shaped basket similar to the family bread basket, inverting it on the ground and striking it with the palm of the hand. The Makah, near Cape Flattery in Washington, formerly used a long box for a drum, several men sitting on it and kicking it with their heels or pounding it with their fists in time with the singing. This could be heard in the long wooden houses where their gatherings were held in winter. The same tribe pounded on a plank, when a gathering was held on the shore during the summer. The Indians of British Columbia beat on a plank as an accompaniment to the songs of the *Slahal* game, the plank being raised a few inches above the ground to produce resonance. The clapping of hands or stamping of feet sometimes accompanied Indian singing, showing the use of the human body in place of an instrument.

Rattles are a form of percussion instrument and may consist of receptacles containing small stones or clay pellets that make a noise when shaken together, or they may consist of objects suspended so that they clash against one another when the rattle is shaken by the hand. Such rattles made of turtle shells or cocoons are sometimes attached to the knee of a dancer and the sound is produced by the motion of his dancing. The gourd rattle is a familiar example of the first type of rattle, and an interesting example of the second is a rattle obtained from a Makah medicine man which consists of pecten shells suspended from a hoop of whalebone. The rattle is often connected with magic, and the form of a man's rattle may be in accordance with instructions received in the dream by which he obtained his power.

Indian flutes are of the type known to musicians as the recorder, or *flûte à bec*,⁸ which was the European flute of the Middle Ages. It was held in a vertical position and blown at

⁸ *Handbook of the Collection of Musical Instruments in the United States National Museum*, U.S. Nat. Mus. Bull. 136. pp. 25-27, 1927.

the end, the instrument preceding the transverse flute of the present day. The recorder is played by blowing into an air chamber at the upper end of a tube, the sound being produced by a whistle opening similar to that of an organ pipe.⁹ The typical Indian flute is made of any soft wood with a straight grain, and the number of finger holes varies in different tribes. Flutes are made of cane in tribes that lack suitable wood, and in modern times a gun barrel or piece of metal pipe is used in making a flute. The only transverse flute that I have collected is a cane flute obtained among the Yuma.¹⁰ The playing of many flutes has been recorded and transcribed in notation. In some tribes it is said that certain songs may either be sung or played on the flute, and the Menominee said that love songs were imitations of flute melodies.¹¹ Several legends of the origin of the flute have been obtained, one of the most interesting being that of the Papago.¹²

The whistle is a simple form of the *flûte à bec*. Among the Indians it is generally made of the wing bone of a bird, and connected with a ceremony or with the exercise of magic power. Such whistles and the wooden whistles are usually short. Certain Plains tribes, however, used a "grass dance whistle" made of wood and about 25 inches in length. This was described by the Sioux and a specimen was obtained from an Hidatsa named Pan at Fort Berthold Reservation. He recorded a performance on the instrument, part of which was transcribed. A portion of the long harmonic series was produced on this whistle, and it is possible that Indians using such a whistle may have obtained a perception of overtones from the instrument.

Robert Henry . . . is one of the Choctaw medicine men who blow whistles the night before and during a ball game. Each group of players is assisted by the blowing of such whistles. Henry had three whistles, differently marked. The illustration shows a whistle with a crude face, said to be his personal mark.

SCOPE OF THE WORK

The scope of the work has been broad. It was my plan to select representative tribes in each of the large areas, and songs have been recorded from the following:

Northeastern Woodlands	Chippewa, Menominee, Iroquois.
Southeast (Gulf of Mexico)	Alabama (Texas), Choctaw (Mississippi), Seminole (Florida).
Northern Plains	Sioux, Winnebago, Mandan, Hidatsa. ¹³
High Plateau	Northern Ute.
Southern Plains	Pawnee, Omaha, Cheyenne, Arapaho. ¹⁴
Southwest: Pueblo	Acoma, Isleta, Cochiti, Zuni, Hopi, Santo Domingo. ¹⁵
Southwest: Rancheria and Nomad	Papago, Yuma, Cocopa, Yaqui, Navajo. ¹⁶
British Columbia Plateau	Salish, including Nitinat, and Thompson River
Northwest Coast	Makah, Clayoquot, Quileute, Tsimshian.
Northern California	Valley Maidu.
Panama	Tule Indians of San Blas. ¹⁷

The Chitimacha Indians in Louisiana were visited but the only surviving members of the tribe did not know any songs. Interesting information concerning the music was obtained, also legends in which songs were formerly introduced.

The Iroquois records comprise a series of ceremonial songs of the Condolence and Installation Council of the League of the Iroquois, recorded by the late J. N. B. Hewitt. These include the Farewell Chant of the Dead Chief, sung by the people as representing the dead chief, the Eulogy of the Founders of the League, and an interesting song entitled "Over the Great Forest."

⁹ Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*. pp. 167, 168, 1929.

¹⁰ Densmore, *Yuman and Yaqui Music*. pp. 25, 26, 1932.

¹¹ Densmore, *Menominee Music*. p. 208, 1932.

¹² Densmore, *Papago Music*. pp. 54-77, 1929.

¹³ The first field trip to the Mandan and Hidatsa was under the auspices of the North Dakota Historical Society. A subsequent trip and publication of results was under the Bureau of American Ethnology.

¹⁴ Field trips to the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Valley Maidu, and the recording of songs of Santo Domingo Pueblo by a member of the tribe temporarily in Los Angeles, were under the auspices of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, Calif. With the exception of the music of the Maidu, the results of these trips have been published by the Southwest Museum. A manuscript on the music of the Maidu awaits publication by that museum. [Now in print: see Bibliography].

¹⁵ Songs of Acoma, Isleta, Cochiti, Zuni, Hopi, and Santo Domingo Pueblos have been recorded by singers from those pueblos temporarily in a low altitude.

¹⁶ Obtained from Navajo temporarily in a low altitude.

¹⁷ Tule Indian songs were recorded by Indians from that locality, temporarily in Washington, D.C.

The songs of Indians in Alaska comprise eight songs obtained at Anvik, Alaska, by the late Rev. John Chapman. They were recorded by dictaphone and the cylinder was obtained by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, who presented it to the Bureau of American Ethnology. Information concerning the songs was obtained by correspondence with Mr. Chapman, and the record was transcribed in its entirety.

In the collection of records transferred to the Bureau of American Ethnology, 27 tribes or large tribal groups are represented by 11 to 356 songs, and 12 small groups are represented by less than 11 songs. Many of the latter songs were recorded by Indians who are not members of those groups. Indians often learn songs from other tribes and sing them in dances and games. No attempt has been made to obtain any considerable number of such borrowed songs.

The following list shows only a portion of the work, as many hundreds of songs have been recorded and not transcribed. The summary comprises work from September 1907 to November 30, 1941.

1. Transcribed records submitted to the Bureau of American Ethnology and transferred in 1940 to the National Archives for permanent preservation	2,237
2. Transcribed records submitted to the Bureau after the collection was transferred to the Archives—	150
3. Transcribed records in possession of Southwest Museum, Los Angeles (copies of 33 of these included in item 1)	205
4. Transcribed records in possession of North Dakota Historical Society	40
Total	2,632

CONCLUSION

The two principal observations made by those who have listened to the singing of Indians are that it is chiefly rhythmic and that it is minor in character. The rhythm of Indian singing appears first because of its prominence and insistence. The songs heard by a casual observer are generally the songs of dances, but a study of the recorded melodies shows that the rhythm of important Indian songs is more elaborate than the rhythm of corresponding songs in our own race. A desire to check these and other impressions prompted my analysis of recorded Indian songs. It was not difficult to assign a keynote to most of the melodies by the test of the ear, and the songs were divided into two groups, major and minor, according to the interval of the third and sixth tones above this apparent keynote. The term "key" was avoided and the term "tonality" decided upon, partly at the suggestion of Charles K. Wead, examiner, United States Patent Office, about 1909. It was found that more than three-fifths of 180 Chippewa songs under analysis were major in tonality. In subsequent analyses of larger groups of songs, it was found that the minor third was the most frequent interval except the whole tone, which is generally a passing tone. The prominence of this interval had given the impression that the songs were minor in tonality, according to our musical system. Continuing this investigation, all the intervals in large groups of songs were expressed in terms of a semi-tone, and the average progression was found to contain approximately a tone and a half which is a minor third. This table of analysis was last used in my *Yuman and Yaqui Music* (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 110, table 13, p. 34, 1932) which shows that the average interval in a cumulative analysis of 1,343 songs contains 3.03 semi-tones.

The first tabulated analyses used in my work were nine in number, contained in my first book, *Chippewa Music* (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 45, 1910). The melodic analyses comprised such bases as tonality, first progression (upward and downward), and tone material, while the rhythmic analyses noted the beginning on the accented or unaccented portion of the measure and a comparison of the metric unit of voice and drum. The familiar major and minor pentatonic scales were designated as the fourth and second five-toned scales according to the classification by Helmholtz. The various classes of songs were grouped together, making it possible to compare the structure of war, game, and other songs. To Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, curator of physical anthropology, United States National Museum, I owe the suggestion that the results be expressed in percentages, a custom begun in 1913 and followed in subsequent work.

The number of tables of analysis was increased to 22 in my second book, *Chippewa Music II* (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 53, 1913), and this number was gradually reduced until only 14 were used in *Nootka and Quileute Music* (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 124, 1939). When the results of an analysis were practically uniform in the tribes under con-

sideration, the basis was discontinued, and certain other tables did not seem of sufficient importance to be continued. Among those used for only a few hundred songs were tables showing the metronome time of the voice and drum, and the keynote of the song. These analyses were regarded as tests, and no claim was made that they were scientific; neither was any claim made that the results would apply to all songs of all Indian tribes. They were concrete observations on the material under consideration, which represented as nearly as possible the music of certain tribes of Indians.

As a preliminary to the tabular analyses, each song was analyzed, using forms devised and printed for that purpose. In recent years I have continued the individual analyses and combined the results in descriptive groups or tribal analyses. A comparison of the songs under consideration with songs previously analyzed was used for the last time in *Nootka and Quileute Music*, in which 210 songs of that group were compared with 1,343 songs of other tribes. The discrepancy between the tribal group and the total number of songs had become so great that a comparison was scarcely justified.

Mention may here be made of a group of songs designated in the analyses as irregular in tonality and comprising songs without an apparent keynote. This designation was adopted at the suggestion of Charles K. Wead, who suggested that the material could thus be reserved for future consideration. The designation was used first in *Teton Sioux Music* (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 61, 1918) and has been continued in later work. The table concerning the tone material of the songs contains a group designated as "other combinations of tones." Some of these songs contain only three or four tones, and others are wandering melodies, according to the present basis of classification.

Throughout this study the objective has been to record the structure of the Indian songs under observation, with my interpretation. Other students, scanning the material, may reach other conclusions. My work has been to preserve the past, record observations in the present, and open the way for the work of others in the future.

APPENDIX

CONGRESSIONAL TRIBUTE

The following speech, "Dr. Frances Densmore," was delivered by Hon. August H. Andresen of Minnesota in the House of Representatives, April 25, 1952.

MR. AUGUST H. ANDRESEN. Mr. Speaker, it is with considerable pride that I am addressing my colleagues in the House of Representatives today and for a few moments to honor a famous living American. I refer to Dr. Frances Densmore from my home city of Red Wing, Minnesota. I know that you will be interested in the lifework of this great woman and distinguished scholar and to learn of her outstanding contribution to the culture and history of the Western World.

Dr. Densmore is the greatest living authority on the music of the American Indian, and has devoted a lifetime to the collection and study of the songs of Indian tribes throughout the United States, and in British Columbia. She is a collaborator of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution and an associate in Ethnology of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, Calif. She received the honorary degree of Master of Arts from Oberlin College in 1924 and was recently given the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters by Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn. Her work has attracted not only national but international attention. Scholarly papers of hers on Indian music have been published in South America, a full bibliography of her work will shortly be issued in Mexico City, and her correspondence has included scientists in Cuba and Japan as well as in the principal countries of Europe. Her career is one which deserves to be reviewed and placed permanently in the Congressional Record, particularly since so much of her work has been done in connection with our national institutions—the Smithsonian Institution, the National Archives, and the Library of Congress.

Dr. Densmore was born in Red Wing, Minnesota. As a young woman she studied music intensively at the Oberlin Conservatory of Music, also working under such teachers as Carl Baermann of Boston, Professor John K. Paine of Harvard, and Leopold Godowsky in the fields of piano and counterpoint. With this solid and basic foundation in the music field, she taught music for many years, then turned—not to further study of European or foreign music, which would have been easy—but to the intensive study of indigenous American music, that of the American Indian. From 1893 to the present time, a period of nearly 60 years, she has pursued this study with unflagging interest. This is a devotion to a single subject of scholarship which merits recognition on the basis alone of the time given to it.

But beyond the matter of the sixty year span of time is the greater matter of Dr. Densmore's contribution to our knowledge of the American Indian's music. Let me cite some details of her work: Dr. Densmore's first field trip was to the Chippewa Indians at Grand Portage, Minnesota, on the north shore of Lake Superior, in 1905. Other trips were made to Indians in Minnesota at her own expense, and in 1907 the Bureau of American Ethnology allotted a small sum for the furtherance of her work. This sum was used primarily for recording equipment with which Dr. Densmore returned to the Indians to record their songs. As the result of her first successful field recording trip, added funds were allotted and her work for the Bureau developed.

From the north woodland area it was extended to the northern and southern plains, the high plateau of Utah, the low desert of Arizona, the region of the Colorado River, the northwest coast of Washington and thence into British Columbia. Then she sought the Indians in Texas, Louisiana and Mississippi, with three trips to the Seminole in Florida.

All her recording of Indian songs was done with a portable cylinder equipment, at first having a spring motor and later with storage electric battery. The result of her work for the Bureau of American Ethnology is designated as the Smithsonian=Densmore Collection of Indian song-recordings. The catalog of this collection contains about 2400 songs, all of which have been transcribed in musical notation. Several hundred other transcribed recordings are preserved elsewhere, and she has recorded a large number of songs which have been studied but not transcribed. The songs include those of ceremonies, war, games, dances, and other customs. Special attention has been given to songs used in the treatment of the sick, and to songs of the Sun dance, the Ghost dance and the Peyote Cult. Some of the recorded songs are known to be about 200 years old. Throughout this work the singers have been carefully selected and only the most reliable informants and interpreters have been employed.

This achievement of field collecting is increased in importance when we pause to think that without her effort the great majority of these songs would have passed into total oblivion. Many are forgotten among the Indians themselves, and the older singers are in most cases, long since dead. But these songs still live as part of the American heritage, preserved in sound on discs to which they have been transferred from the cylinders at the Library of Congress. For this work alone Dr. Densmore deserves to be honored.

Having gathered the songs in the field, however, Dr. Densmore then worked to prepare the material for permanent preservation in book form. Her monographs issued by the Bureau of American Ethnology are, to date, the definitive works in the field. They include the transcription of the words and music from the original cylinders, as well as careful studies of the customs and traditions surrounding the use of the music. They are, in other words, a record of Indian life and a notable aid to our understanding of the American Indian.

In addition to recording songs, Dr. Densmore has collected hundreds of specimens of musical instruments and other articles connected with the

native life. Her largest collection is in the National Museum, but a notable collection is also in the Museum of the American Indian in New York which published her brochure on *A Collection of Specimens from the Teton Sioux*.

Mention should also be made of her expert photography in portraits of Indians as well as pictures of their environment.

Dr. Densmore's monographs include the following: two volumes on *Chippewa Music*; *Teton Sioux Music*; *Northern Ute Music*; *Mandan and Hidatsa Music*; *Papago Music*; *Pawnee Music*; *Menominee Music*; *Yuman and Yaqui Music*; *Cheyenne and Arapaho Music*; *Music of Santo Domingo Pueblo, New Mexico*; *Nootka and Quileute Music*; and *Choctaw Music*. Others await publication. Outside of our own country, as stated, Dr. Densmore made a study of the *Music of the Indians of British Columbia*. She also, apart from these specialized tribal studies, issued a general volume dealing with *The American Indians and Their Music*, as well as a book on *Indian Action Songs*. Beyond these studies of American Indian music, Dr. Densmore also issued volumes on *Chippewa Customs*; the *Uses of Plants by the Chippewa Indians*; *Poems from Sioux and Chippewa Songs*; and *A Handbook of the Collection of Musical Instruments in the United States National Museum*. Her scholarly and popular magazine articles are too numerous to list here, but I call attention to the fact that they are all included in a bibliography of Dr. Densmore's writings to 1946 which was published by the *Journal of Musicology*.

During the period of this activity for the Bureau of Ethnology Dr. Densmore undertook special projects which included a survey of the music of the Indians in the Gulf States for the National Research Council in 1932 and 1933; research on Indian music for the Southwest Museum from 1935 to 1937; and a survey of the Indians in Michigan for the University of Michigan in 1945.

Her work for the Southwest Museum in 1935-37 comprised the recording of Cheyenne and Arapaho songs in Oklahoma, and the recording of songs of Santo Domingo Pueblo, New Mexico, by an Indian from that Pueblo, living in Los Angeles. Both these books were published by the museum. Under the same auspices she studied the music of the Maidu in northern California, the result still awaiting publication. During this period various honors quite naturally came to her, and I cite some of them which are indicative of her position.

Dr. Densmore was elected a Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and a Fellow of the Washington Academy of Sciences. She has served as secretary of the Anthropological Society of Washington and the Society of Woman Geographers, and her memberships have included numerous other scientific societies. She is an honorary member of Sigma Alpha Iota, a national musical society; also the Minnesota Archaeological Society, the Thursday Musical of Minneapolis and other organizations. She is a life member of the Minnesota Historical Society. In 1941 she received an award from the National Association of American Composers and Conductors for her service to American music.

All this would seem more than enough to round out a great career. And it would be for most persons, but not for Dr. Densmore, with her boundless

and untiring energy. I come now to the work which Dr. Densmore has just completed for the Library of Congress, work which fittingly caps a lifetime of study of American Indian music. Let me describe this work for the historical record.

In 1941, through the generosity of Mrs. Eleanor S. Reese, a gift of \$30,000 was presented to the Government of the United States for the preservation of Indian music. Specifically, this money was to be used to preserve in more lasting form the extraordinarily valuable cylinders of Indian music recorded by Dr. Densmore. The law which authorized the Government's acceptance of this gift was sponsored by me and supported by my colleagues. I am happy now to report on the near completion of that project, and at the same time to honor Dr. Densmore for her work in connection with it.

At the time of acceptance of the gift, it seemed logical that the National Archives would be the most fitting place for the work to be undertaken. Accordingly, the great collection of cylinders, known as the Smithsonian-Densmore Collection of Indian song-recordings was transferred from the Smithsonian Institution to the National Archives. Dr. Densmore wrote a *Handbook* of this collection while connected with the Archives. The recording and duplicating facilities of the National Archives proved to be inadequate to the very large task of preservation and the cylinders were, after considerable study, transferred to the Music Division and Recording Laboratory of the Library of Congress. Dr. Densmore, as the logical authority on the subject of the music, was retained by the Music Division of the Library of Congress, but carried out her consultative work from her home in Red Wing, Minnesota.

In order to duplicate the vast collection, the Recording Laboratory needed not only to purchase new equipment but had as well to construct special machines for playing both cylinders and discs. Once the equipment was ready, the cylinders were copied onto two sets of 16 inch discs, one set being forwarded to Dr. Densmore and the second set retained at the Library of Congress. From her set, Dr. Densmore has selected the most representative songs in each tube and arranged them in a series of 10 units. For each she wrote a descriptive pamphlet, the order of these units being practically the same as that of the publication of the songs by the Bureau of Ethnology. These are to be available to the public, and four of them have already been issued by the Library of Congress in the form of long-playing records. The four which have been issued are "Songs of the Chippewa," "Songs of the Sioux," "Songs of the Yuma, Cocopa, and Yaqui," and "Songs of the Pawnee and Northern Ute."

The reception which these records have had in musicological and anthropological circles indicates clearly that the time and effort expended upon their initial preservation and subsequent manufacture has been well worth while. Favorable reviews of them have appeared in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, *The New York Times*, and *American Heritage*, also in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and other magazines and newspapers, as well as journals in the fields of anthropology and folklore. Dr. Willard Rhodes of the Music Department of Columbia University, himself an authority on

Indian music, describes the recordings as "an extraordinarily valuable collection *per se* and for purposes of comparative study in the field of musicology." Dr. Duncan Emrich, chief of the Folklore Section of the Library of Congress, states that "there is no way of measuring the historical value of these recordings...they are unique and irreplaceable." Dr. Harold Spivacke, chief of the Music Division of the Library of Congress, indicates that "they are one of the great treasures in the recorded collection of the Library of Congress, constituting a most important addition to our knowledge of musical America."

There can be no question that Dr. Frances Densmore's work belongs to the ages. And, fortunately for the ages to come, her work has culminated in these very fine and wonderful sound recordings which will make it possible for students in the generations ahead to hear and to know the traditional music of the American Indian. It gives me great pride and pleasure at this time to honor here, in the halls of Congress, this great American and eminent scholar, Dr. Frances Densmore of Red Wing, Minnesota.

PITCH DISCRIMINATION

A certified test of Frances Densmore's pitch discrimination was made by Dr. Carl E. Seashore in 1914. The following letter reports his findings.

THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA
Iowa City
The Graduate College
The Psychological Laboratory

July 31, 1914

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:—

The following is a report of measurements made upon Miss Frances Densmore for the purpose of determining her reliability in the recording of musical impressions:

I. Pitch discrimination.

Her record for pitch discrimination is 1.1 v.d. at the standard of 435 v.d. This means that she is capable of hearing differences as small as about 1/50th of a tone (1.1/54.0) This represents a very good grade in musical ear, and is finer than the limits for distinction which she needs to make in her work.

II. Hearing ability.

Her hearing is slightly better than the average normal hearing ability, her record being 14 for the left ear and 15 for the right ear on the audiometer in which 17 is the average for those who have no difficulty in hearing. This means that she has superior ability to observe differences in the shading of sounds.

III. Discrimination for intensity of sound.

Her record for discrimination for intensity of sound is 1, at the unit of 38 on the audiometer. This means that she has superior ability for the hearing of differences in sound, which is a mark of ability to make intellectual use of hearing.

IV. Identification of small intervals.

In a test on the ability to identify the small intervals 1, 2, 3, 5, 8 and 12/54ths of a tone respectively, her average error was 47/540ths of a tone, or about 1/12th of a tone. As this test was made without practice in this particular activity, it shows a high degree of ability in judging the magnitude of small intervals of pitch.

V. Time sense.

The test showed that she was able to hear a deviation of 4/100ths of a second from a true second. This represents about the average ability of persons who are accustomed to music.

The above tests were selected with reference to the validity of Miss Densmore's work in observing and transcribing music. They show that she has a superior natural musical organism in all the points measured, excepting the last, in which she is only average.

C. E. Seashore, *Dean.*

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CONOVER HALL, DEC. 4, 1895.

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**The Music of the American Indians.**

LECTURE, WITH PIANO ILLUSTRATIONS,

— BY —

*MISS FRANCES DENSMORE.*

..OUTLINE...



SOCIAL SONGS,       -       Songs of the Hæthuska Society  
                                     Songs of the Poogthun Society

INDIVIDUAL SONGS,   Songs of the Warpath and Battle  
                                     Songs of Love.

RITUAL SONGS.    The Tribal Prayer.

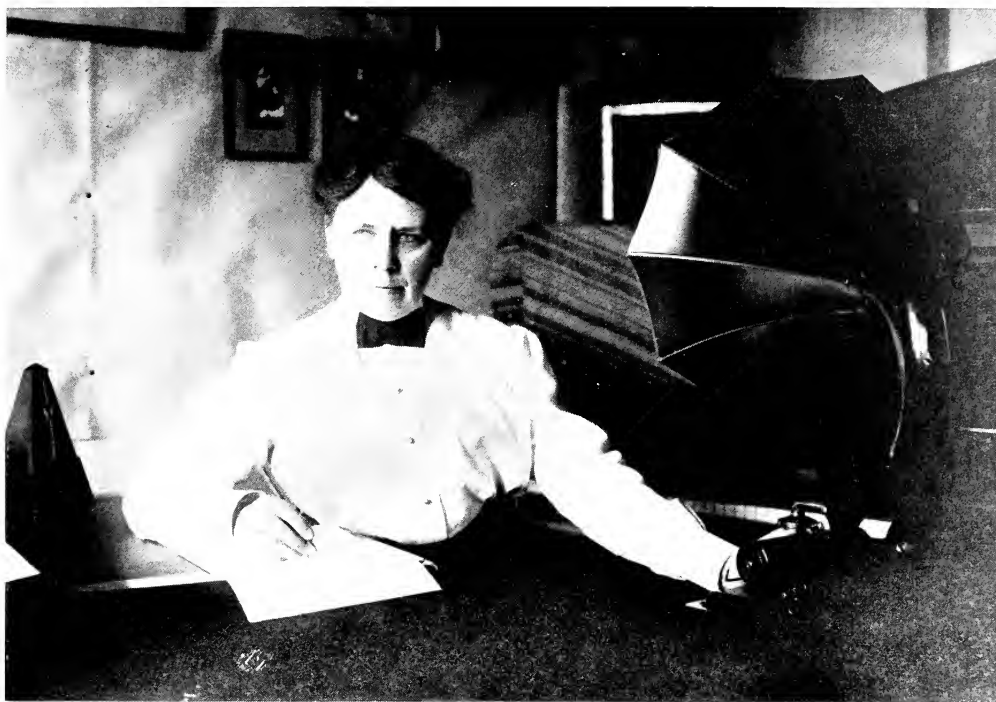
                         The Wa-wab, (or Calumet Ceremony)



2. 3. Miss Densmore at the time of her first lectures on Indian music, 1895.  
*(Photographs courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology archives).*



4. The Densmore family home, Red Wing, Minnesota. Miss Densmore's study was on the second floor, left. *(Author's collection).*



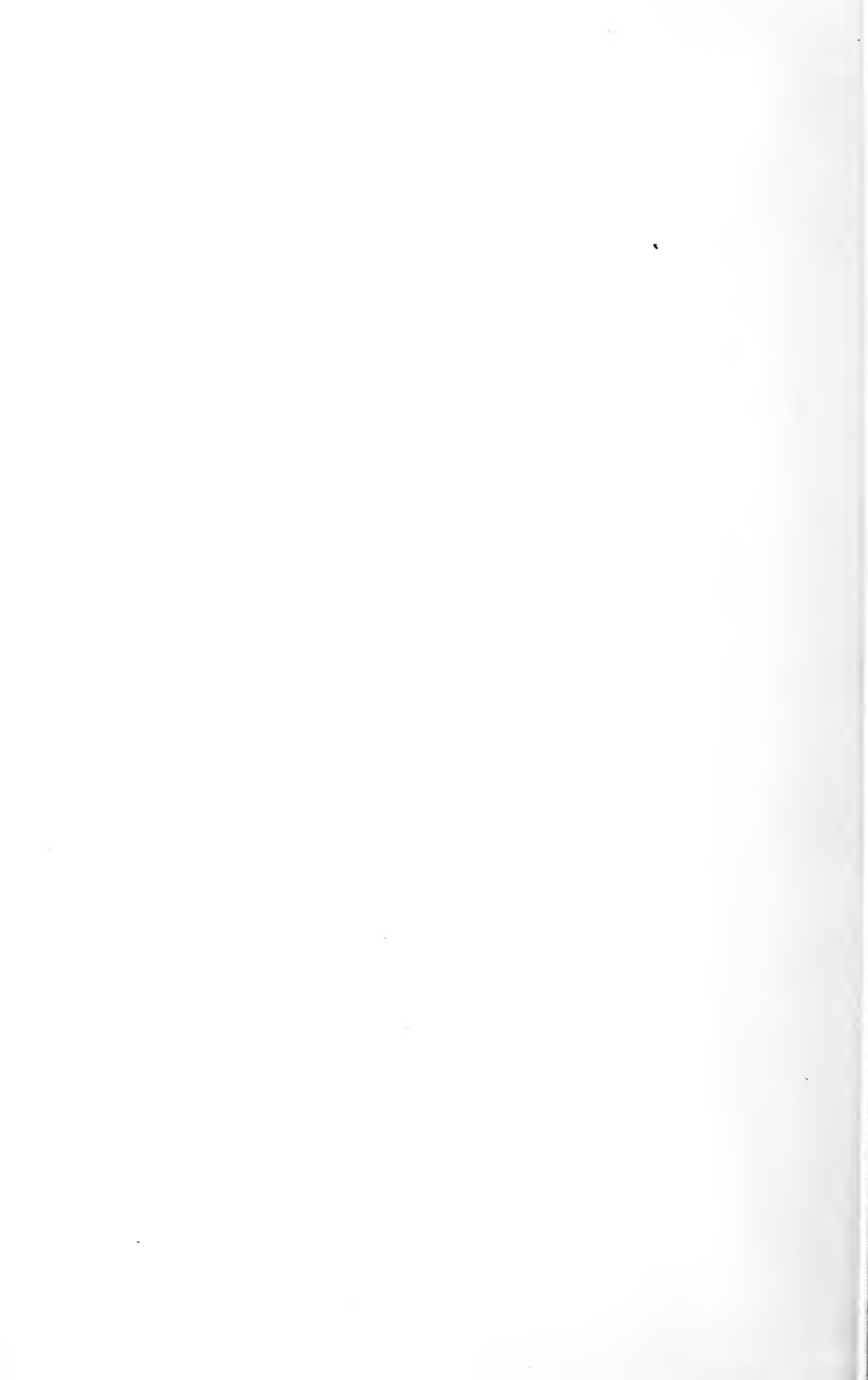
5. Miss Densmore transcribing Indian songs in her office at the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1913. *(Courtesy Bureau of American Ethnology archives).*



6. Miss Densmore with Mountain Chief, a Sioux, in 1914. Taken outside the Smithsonian Institution, while the latter interprets his song in sign language as the recording is played back to him. *(Courtesy of Bureau of American Ethnology archives).*









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